

Outline of Polish History



TO MY WIFE IRENE

Outline of Polish History

PAST AND PRESENT

BY

PROFESSOR OLGIERD GÓRKA

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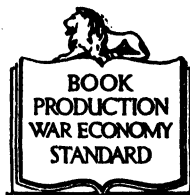
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FOREWORD

THIS WORK IS A REVISED, ENLARGED AND NEWLY translated edition of the book by Professor O. Górka, *Outline of Polish History: Past and Present*, which was published in London in 1942.

On its original publication the work was greatly appreciated both by the press and its readers, and the first edition was quickly exhausted. The demand for a new edition has enabled the author to make extensive additions, and to bring the narrative down to the beginning of 1945. For the book met the need for a short, concise work which would bring together not only historical information concerning all the Polish nation's political past, but would also provide a summary of Polish cultural life, and statistical data concerning the Polish State as it existed in 1939, together with such wartime changes as can be taken into account. The author's and publishers' object of providing the most fundamental information concerning Poland in a concise form aroused the interest not only of the English-speaking world, and the work has been published in Portuguese at Rio de Janeiro, under the title of *O Paiz de gloria e sangue*, while editions in other languages are in preparation.

The author, Professor Olgierd Górka, a Doctor of Philosophy, and Professor of History at the Polish University of Lwow in South-eastern Poland, began his career as an historian with the publication of research writings in 1910. Since then he has published a number of works in Polish and Latin, certain of which have been translated into German, Rumanian, Bulgarian, etc. Particular interest has been aroused among historians by his *Studies in the History of Silesia* (Polish), *Descriptio Europae Orientalis, A Chronicle of the Times of Stefan G. Moldawski* (Polish), and by his works on the Cossack and Tatar wars of the 17th century.

Professor Górka began his career with studies into the mediaeval ages and the history of Eastern Europe, but then turned his attention to the 15th and 17th centuries. In the world of Polish historiography he initiated the trend known as "historical revisionism," i.e. the principle of telling the absolute truth, both in historical writings and in instruction, concerning Poland's past, utilising new, demographic scientific methods, and taking into account foreign, particularly oriental sources. In his regardful concern for historical truth Professor Górka did not hesitate to combat many traditional views in Polish historiography, which were often deeply embedded in Polish traditional thought.

In this present book the author has attempted to achieve the utmost objectivity in his presentation of facts accepted by historians and of established statistical data, and has tried to avoid imposing his own views and historical or political conclusions on the reader.

Holding the view that the best defence of Poland's cause is absolute objective truth, he has confined his task to the presentation of facts, leaving the reader free to form his own judgment concerning the positive and the negative aspects of Poland's past and present.

Outline of Polish History

By PROFESSOR OLGIERD GÓRKA

THE PIAST PERIOD

THE PRESENT-DAY MAP OF CENTRAL AND Eastern Europe by no means conveys an idea of the territorial relationships which existed in that area at the time of the emergence of the Polish State in the tenth century.

Territorially those parts of Europe had quite a different aspect, and in those days the marshy and sometimes quite small rivers lined with impenetrable forests, which to-day are hardly shown at all on maps, were more serious obstacles than even hills could be. For it was easier to make one's way through the low-lying passes of the Carpathians than across the marshy banks of the rivers Bug and Narwa in the East or the Notec or Prosna in the West of Poland. In those days especially, the area which was the main cradle of the Polish State, the present-day district of Poznań, consisted of a closed quadrangle protected by marshes and forests, the inhabitants of which could live undisturbed through all the years of pre-history despite the wanderings of German tribes. Similarly, in the history of the neighbouring Ruthenian peoples the forest barrier between the districts of Suzdal, Toer and Moscow and the rest of the Ruthenian lands, a territorial demarcation which to-day does not exist at all, was of tremendous historical importance.

In consequence historical source references to these barely accessible lands in which the Polish nation lived and persisted in pre-history appear comparatively late. It is known that they were inhabited by Slavonic tribes from the earliest days of Christianity, and such Polish or Slavonic names as "Vistula" and "Kalisz" are found in Pliny in the first and Ptolemy in the second century A.D. None the less, only in the sixth century A.D. is it possible to establish that these areas were inhabited by Slavs.

These lands of eastern and central Europe lying along the rivers Elbe, Oder, Vistula, Dniester and Dnieper were inhabited by peoples who called themselves "Slowians" (Slavs) from the word "slowo," meaning "word," by which they meant people who could talk, whereas they called the German tribes "Niemcy," from the word "niemy," meaning people who did not know how to talk.

The expanses of these regions, especially those lying on the rivers Oder, Warta and Vistula, must not be conceived of as consisting entirely or even generally of virgin forest. On the contrary, great stretches had long been covered with fields, and cultivated fields at that. The name of the great tribe of Polans, which became the core of the Polish nation, is derived from the Slavonic word "pole," or field. A number of archaeological discoveries, and especially the recent excavations at Biskupin, near Poznan, have shown beyond all doubt that for several centuries before the historical emergence of the Polish State these districts had Slavonic agricultural settlements, with their own highly developed culture and organization. During the period of tribal wanderings German tribes invaded and crossed these regions, but the native and agricultural Slavonic population clung inviolably to their ancient centres and townships, defended by forests and marshes.

The Slavs generally, and the Poles in particular, were by no means peaceable peoples. For many centuries they were regarded by the Byzantine empire, for instance, as valiant and resolute warriors. But undoubtedly in many cases they revealed a lack of capacity to organize themselves into any larger State, except where dynasties arose which succeeded in overcoming the separatistic tendencies of the various tribes.

Such a role was played by the Piast dynasty, of the Polan tribe on the river Warta, in regard to the lingually closely kindred tribes of Pomorzans, Mazovians, Kujavians, Slesjans and Wislans, which jointly composed the true Polish nation. A number of ancient traditions indicate that the core of the Polish nation was settled in the districts of Gniezno and Poznania, but that there was a second centre in the Cracow district. Before the Piasts the Polans had a dynasty of Popielides, and most probably the

first Piast rose to government by way of the office of chamberlain, just as the Carolingians succeeded the Merovingians.

The first indubitably historical mention of Poland is in connection with the attack made by the Germans of Margrave Geró against the state of Prince Mieszko 1st, of the Piasts, in 963. From contemporary Arab chronicles we learn that the state ruled by Mieszko was already "the greatest Slavonic State" of the time. It occupied not only the lands of the tribes already mentioned, but the majority of the areas afterwards known as Eastern Galicia, including Przemyśl. In 981 these lands were temporarily lost by Mieszko 1st to the Grand Duke of Ruthenia, Vladimir of Kiev.

In order to deprive the German invaders of any pretext that they were fighting for Christianity, in 966 Mieszko adopted the Christian faith, together with all his Polish tribes, doing so through the mediation of his wife Dobrawa, who was of the Czech Przemyślide dynasty. The Poles, like the Czechs and certain other Slavs, accepted the Roman Catholic rite, whereas the Ruthenians and the majority of the Balkan Slavs accepted first the Greek rite, and then in due course the Orthodox rite. Thus in the tenth century a split occurred on religious grounds between the various branches of the Slavs, and because of the differences in culture, script, rites and dogmas this involved it has to be regarded as the most important fact in the history of eastern Europe.

Mieszko rapidly organized his state, and even inflicted serious defeats on the adjacent Germans, but despite these conflicts he always regarded himself as a vassal of the German emperors, so far as the part of his lands lying along the Warta was concerned.

His successor was his son, Boleslaw, known as the Brave or the Great, a ruler of strength and genius. During his reign (992—1025) Poland at once came to the forefront as the most powerful State in central and eastern Europe. In 1000 A.D. Boleslaw gave hospitality to the German Emperor Otto 3rd, who had come to Gniezno to do honour to the memory of the Polish apostle to Prussia and Pomerania, the martyr St. Wojciech (St. Adalbert). About this time permission was granted by the Emperor and the Papal See for an independent Polish

ecclesiastical organization to be established, with its metropolis at Gniezno. After breaking off relations with the Germans Boleslaw waged a sixteen-year war as an equal monarch against the Emperor Henry 2nd. At one time during this war Boleslaw's forces reached as far as Bavaria. In those days the Polish frontiers included Moravia, embraced Slovakia as far as the Danube, stretched to Elster and the Elbe in the west (close to present-day Leipzig and Dresden) and were bounded on the north by the Baltic. For despite a number of conflicts, since the dawn of history and in any case since 995 Pomorze, between the Vistula and the Oder, had belonged politically and ecclesiastically (with its bishopric at Kolobrzeg) to Poland. The war with Henry 2nd ended in 1018 with the Peace of Budziszyn, and represented a victory for Boleslaw, who temporarily conquered the Czechs and their capital at Prague (1003). Thereafter, in support of his son-in-law Sviatopolk against his brother, Grand Duke Jaroslaw, Boleslaw conquered the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia, capturing Kiev in 1018 and recovering the lands his father had lost in 981. Even at this time the Polish Piasts had dynastic relations extending as far as Sweden, Denmark, and England, for the daughter of Mieszko 1st, Siegfried, was first the wife of Eric the Conqueror, King of Sweden, and then the wife of Sven, King of Denmark and the mother of Canute, King of England and Denmark. To give outward confirmation to his power and independence, in 1024 Boleslaw had himself crowned King of Poland.

The free peoples of the Polish lands were composed not only of higher officials and knights, but also of small gentry. The peasants, who were burdened with taxation for the princes' benefit, also took up arms whenever invasion was attempted. From time immemorial the local centre of resistance was the castle, in which the surrounding population took shelter in war-time. The prince or king was an absolute ruler, the owner of all uninhabited land, and the imposer of taxes. Mieszko 1st and his successors had a numerous standing armed force, known as "druzyna," quartered in castles. In the time of Boleslaw this force became a powerful army, enabling him to triumph over the German empire.

Soon after the death of Boleslaw 1st, the might of the Polish State declined during the reign of his son, King Mieszko 2nd, as the result of German intrigues and attacks and a simultaneous Ruthenian invasion. A pagan reaction set in in Poland, and the Czechs destroyed Gniezno. But the decline was only transient, for in 1308 Boleslaw's grandson, Casimir 1st, the Restorer, revived the state of Poland, while his successor, Boleslaw 2nd, known as the Bold, raised it anew to power. In the east Boleslaw 2nd was the chief supporter of Pope Gregory VII in his struggle against the Emperor Henry 4th, and his coronation as king in 1076 took place just at the time when the emperor had to do obeisance on bended knees to the Pope at Canossa. Boleslaw waged a victorious war against Ruthenia, and recovered certain eastern lands, but came into conflict, for reasons still not wholly explained, with the Bishop of Cracow, Stanislaw. Stanislaw perished, but simultaneously the Germans were successful in supporting a rising at home against the king. In 1079 Boleslaw was forced to leave Poland, and his feeble successor, Wladyslaw Herman, Boleslaw's brother, was not crowned as king, and succumbed to German hegemony.

Yet once more the Piast dynasty threw up a valiant ruler in Wladyslaw's son, Boleslaw 3rd, known as "Wrymouthed." After establishing his sway and winning the struggle with his brother for the throne, Boleslaw devoted all his energy to extending Polish rule along the Baltic. In 1121 Polish government extended to the areas of present-day Mecklenburg, and included even the island of Rugen. In 1109 Boleslaw fought a victorious war against the Emperor Henry 5th, inflicting great losses on the Germans especially in Silesia. For the main line of defence to Poland of the Piasts was the river Oder. The chief city, and the capital of the country in those days, was Cracow.

The Piasts had suffered from the dynastic principle that each member of the family must have his own province, and so, as Boleslaw 3rd was dying in 1138 he drew up a testament establishing the principle of seniority. Each of his five sons was to have his own province, but the oldest son, as the Grand Duke to whom the others were subject, was granted in addition

the province of Cracow and a number of other lands and fortresses. This principle was not observed, as the younger princes began a revolt in 1146, and in consequence Poland began to break up into smaller duchies quite independent in practice, despite the fact that the Grand Duke of Cracow had nominal precedence. But the country as a whole was still united by a single ecclesiastical organization with its metropolis at Gniezno, and was inhabited by a single nation with one language. The German emperors intervened in this dynastic dispute over the question of seniority, and in 1157 Frederick 1st, Barbaressa, even temporarily imposed German overlordship, though owing to the disintegration of the empire it quickly lost all importance and was not recognised.

Of the sons of Boleslaw 3rd, Wladyslaw 2nd (1138—1146) and Mieszko 3rd, known as the Old (1173—1177) attempted to maintain the right of seniority of the Cracow princes, which on the other hand was undermined in the times of Boleslaw 4th, the "Curly" (1146—1173). But during the reign of the youngest son, Casimir 2nd, known as the "Just" (1177—1194), the principle of seniority fell into desuetude. At a congress held in Leczyca in 1180, the great nobles (magnates) won an influential position for themselves beside the Piast princes, especially as the junior members of the dynasty had suppressed first the practical implications and then the very principle of seniority. In consequence, after the reign of Leszek the "White" (1202—1227), Poland was broken up into petty principalities. The period that then set in is known as that of "Principality Poland."

Even worse than all this was the fact that during all these years, and especially in the second half of the 12th century, the Germans were barbarously and cruelly exterminating Poland's direct western neighbours, the Slavs of the Elbe district. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, conquered the lower Elbe, and in 1150 the Margrave of Brandenburg, Albrecht the Bear, established his capital in the Slavonic town of Branibor, now known as Brandenburg. Poland lost western Pomorze (Pomerania), *i.e.* that part lying west of the Oder, and the frontier of German life, which previously had been on the

Elbe and immediately east of Berlin and Leipzig, now approached the Oder and the frontiers of Poland.

However, despite the disintegration of the State, these numerous Polish principalities of the 12th and 13th centuries represented centres of cultural development and armed strength, and attempts were continually being made to create a larger centralized State. This trend was particularly encouraged by the Silesian Piasts, especially Henry the Bearded and his son Henry the Pious, despite the fact that Germans were now beginning to colonize and to gain influence in Silesia. But Europe was menaced with a flood of invasion from the barbarian east, and Poland found herself in the first line of resistance to the flood, for the Ruthenian princes were at once overthrown (1224). These invasions were made chiefly by the Tatar forces of Temudjin—Jhengis Khan, whose Mongol rule extended from China to Eastern Europe. In addition to the battles waged by the nobility of Malopolska, Henry the Pious set out to oppose the invaders in 1241, but was defeated and perished with many Polish nobles and knights at Lignica. None the less, the Tatar hordes' pressure on Poland was relieved, and was diverted to Hungary. Ruthenia, *i.e.* Eastern Europe, fell under the Tatar yoke, and thenceforth Poland had time and again to act as the bastion of the Christian world of Europe.

About then an incident of apparently small importance, but one pregnant with results, occurred in Western Poland. East of Polish Pomorze (between the Oder and the Vistula), *i.e.* in the area between the lower Vistula and the lower Niemen, lived the Pagan Baltic tribe of Prussians. This tribe was always invading the Polish provinces, and so in 1226 the Polish Duke of Mazovia, Conrad 2nd, invited the knights of the German Order of the Cross to fight the pagans under his banner. With the object of rendering themselves independent in the area, these knights soon went beyond the scope of the task which they had been asked to perform, and after settling along the Vistula they began to exterminate the Prussians with a view to creating their own German state, governed by the Order. For all that the present-day Prussians possess has been taken from others, down even to their national name. Having exterminated the

native Prussians the Knights of the Cross set up the Order State of East Prussia to the east of the Vistula, and the newly-formed State soon began to menace Poland's centuries-old connections with the sea.

However, the movement to unite all the separate Polish lands and principalities in a single Polish State and kingdom grew apace, and in 1295 Przemyslaw 2nd, Prince of Wielkopolska, *i.e.* of Poznań, Danzig and Pomorze, was crowned King of Poland. Przemyslaw was murdered, probably at the instigation of the Brandenburgs, and the Bohemian rulers of the Przemyslide dynasty intervened in Polish affairs. Wacław 2nd (Wenceslaus of Bohemia), who had married the daughter of Przemyslaw, was crowned King of Poland in 1300. But various Polish claimants of the Piast line made strong resistance to his rule, especially the inheritor of the Piast rights, Władysław the Dwarf. With the death of Wacław 3rd the Bohemian Przemyslide dynasty came to a sudden end in 1305, and Władysław, who ascended the throne as Władysław 1st (1306—1333), carried on a continual fight for the unification and recovery of all the Polish lands. Unfortunately he was opposed both by a new claimant in the person of the new Bohemian ruler, John of Luxembourg, and by the aggressive Knights of the Cross. The Knights were called upon to help the king against the Margrave of Brandenburg, but in 1308 they treacherously seized Danzig and slew the Polish garrison and part of the population. Now the Order extended their domination over the Vistula by fire and sword, conquered its mouth, and the Grand Master founded his capital in Malbork. The lands of the previously isolated colony of the Order were now linked up with Germany proper by the conquest of Polish Pomorze, and for a time Poland was cut off from the Baltic.

Despite these hard struggles the great work of internal consolidation of the State was accomplished, and in 1320 Władysław was crowned as King of all Poland. In the protracted wars which he waged against the Order and the Luxembourgs he had the support of Hungary under the new Angevin dynasty. In 1331 he inflicted the first defeat on the Order at Płowce.

Unhappily, the country was exhausted by these incessant wars. And so Wladyslaw's son, Casimir 1st, justly known as the "Great" (1333—1370) adopted a policy rather peaceable than otherwise. Casimir, who was an advanced and enlightened monarch for his time, entered into close relations with Hungary and the Anguevin dynasty, and in 1339 he appointed the heir to the line, Louis, as his own successor. He had already agreed with King John of Bohemia in 1339 for the latter to renounce all claims to Poland in exchange for fiefdom over Silesia, and from this date the province of Silesia began to drift away from Poland, and to come within the orbit of Bohemia. After protracted conflicts peace was made with the Knights of the Cross at Kalisz in 1343. By this peace Casimir temporarily renounced his right to Pomorze, though with some reservations ; but he recovered other lands.

Casimir compensated Poland for these losses by advancing eastward, as heir to Prince Boleslaw Trojdenowicz of the Piast dynasty, the last independent ruler of the Halicz-Vladimir principality. After many battles between 1340 and 1366, especially against Lithuania and the Tatar overlords of Ruthenia, he restored and established Polish rule over lands previously held by the Ruthenian princes, including the towns of Przemyśl, Lwow, Halicz, and Kolomyja, all of which thenceforth belonged uninterruptedly to Poland. Thus Poland also gained a common frontier with Rumania, *i.e.* with the newly-created principality of Moldavia.

However, Casimir earned his title to greatness chiefly because he succeeded in reviving, ordering and economically developing the consolidated Polish State, which, though it was without Silesia and Pomorze, included Mazovia under its own princes as vassals of the King. Poland was governed by a hereditary monarch with absolute power, though the nobility had great influence. The internal government, carried on through starostas (an office which had been introduced in the time of Wacław) was efficient, and side by side with the royal administration autonomous provincial administrations were already in existence. Legal conditions were regulated by the statutes of Wislica in 1347. At this time, the great mass of the

people outside the knighthood were peasants, who had Casimir's protection, so earning him the title of "king of the peasants." Of course the class of nobility and knights was in the ascendancy, although feudalism in its mediaeval significance never existed in Poland. Casimir paid extraordinary attention to the development and the rights of the towns, and himself built very many towns. These, which were established under or transferred to the Magdeburg law, were inhabited by very many Germans, but their political influence had been broken in the days of Wladyslaw the Dwarf. Later, as the centuries passed, though having the fullest of autonomy and unrestricted rights in regard to language, the towns were completely Polonized. In the 13th and 14th centuries large masses of rural population also were brought under the Magdeburg law, but this by no means signified that there had been German colonization of Poland's rural areas.

Jews also flocked into Poland from very early centuries, as the result of persecutions arising out of the Crusades. They came mainly from Germany, and were very favourably received. In 1254 they were granted very far-reaching privileges, guaranteeing them the justice and protection of the prince himself. In 1334 Casimir the Great, who has passed into tradition as their chief protector, extended this privilege to all the lands subject to Poland. The Jews were mainly occupied with financial interests, for in theory trade was reserved for the Christian burghers, though this provoked some disputes.

In any case Poland had now become a well-governed and affluent state with a high standard of culture. The best testimony to that standard is the fact that in 1364 a university was founded in Cracow, and in 1365 a supreme court of German Law. The international expression of the country's importance and power was the gathering of monarchs at Cracow in 1362, at which the German Emperor Charles 14th and five other kings were present.

With a view to the recovery of Pomorze and the Baltic coast, towards the end of his life Casimir adopted the Pomorzan prince of Stettin, Casimir, but in accordance with inter-state agreements the throne fell to the King of Hungary, Louis 1st, a member of the Anguevin dynasty.

The brief reign of Louis 1st (1370—1382) did not make for peace within the country, but on the other hand in 1374 the Polish nobility obtained great taxation privileges and other rights in exchange for the recognition of female as well as male succession. The result of this was to make the Polish throne a matter of election in a sense, though at first the right of being elected was confined to members of the dynasty.

2

THE GREAT POLISH-LITHUANIAN
COMMONWEALTH

AFTER HER FATHER'S DEATH THE RIGHT to the throne passed to Louis' daughter, Jadwiga. She travelled to Poland from Hungary, and to popular acclamation was crowned as "king" in 1384. The most immediately important question now was to find a husband for the young queen, and, although she had been betrothed to a Habsburg prince, the Polish magnates, or great nobles, decided in favour of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagiello.

The Lithuanians, a nation of Baltic origin, had carved out a great State by conquest to the north-east of Poland, and in 1253 the State had become a kingdom. But as the Lithuanians remained obstinately pagan, the kingdom failed to survive, though under the new dynasty of Gedemin the State was enlarged by conquests of the Ruthenian lands, which at this time were completely impotent and broken up into petty principalities. Lithuania had its period of greatest development from 1345 to 1377 under the joint government of the brothers Olgiert and Kiejstut. Kiejstut waged savage wars against the Knights of the Cross of Prussia, who had turned their attentions to the destruction of Lithuania, while Olgiert extended their sway eastward, conquering Podolia and the Ukraine, occupying Smolensk and Tver, and advancing almost to Moscow, and southward to the Black Sea. Olgiert's son, Jagiello, came into conflict with his uncle, Kiejstut, who perished ; but, faced with

the pressure of the Knights of the Cross, like Gedymin before him Jagiello sought an alliance with Poland against the German invasion. For although, owing to the conquest of the Ruthenian lands, Lithuania was territorially larger than Poland, she was only half as strong at the utmost in respect of population, wealth, and military power.

As the result, in 1385 a state union was achieved at Krewo. Here Jagiello solemnly undertook to become a Christian and to unite Lithuania with Poland, after his marriage with Jadwiga. In 1386 the marriage was solemnized, and he was crowned as King Wladyslaw 2nd, Wladyslaw being the name by which he had been baptized. By this act he founded the Jagiellon dynasty, and through the union of Lithuania with Poland he created the greatest power in Eastern Europe.

The union was primarily directed against the Knights of the Cross, and the German pressure against both the countries. The Lithuanians adopted Christianity in the Roman Catholic form and came into the orbit of the Latin world, thus being distinguished from a large number of their subjects of the Ruthenian lands, who were Orthodox. In 1387 Poland not only obtained permanent sway over Red Ruthenia, which had been temporarily occupied by the Hungarians, but also the recognition of the principality of Moldavia as a vassal State of Poland. Polish influences also extended to Wallachia, and so the great expanse of eastern and central Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube, from Silesia to Moscow was brought under a single sceptre. Poland became the political and cultural centre of these lands, this being symbolized in the fame of the Cracow University, which was restored in 1400.

After a number of disputes, Jagiello entrusted the government of Lithuania to Witold, the son of Kiejstut, who as Grand Duke extended and increased the power of Lithuania. But he entered into a war with the Tatars of the Tamerlane States. In 1399 he was defeated on the river Worskla, but saved the unity and power of the State, and Lithuania entered into still stronger bonds of union and alliance with Poland. In the meantime, the great day of settlement of accounts between the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the German aggressors, a day which had been postponed and preceded by continual smaller wars, was approaching. The result of the great war which now began was one of the greatest battles of mediaeval times, that of Grunwald (called by the Germans the Battle of Tannenburg) fought on July 15th, 1410. In this battle an army of Polish knighthood to the number of several tens of thousands, together with Lithuanian cavalry, Ruthenian boyars mainly from Smolensk, and mercenary footsoldiers consisting partly of Czechs, met an almost equal force of Germans, whom the Order had drawn from all over Germany. The battle, in which the Commonwealth forces were commanded by Jagiello, ended with the complete destruction of the Germans. The Grand Master himself fell, out of seven hundred Knights of the Order only fifteen survived, and all the German standards fell into Polish and Lithuanian hands. The Lithuanians had been scattered at the beginning of the battle, but they returned to the field. The German aggression and the might of the Order were finally shattered, though at first the victory did not bring full results, as the war was transformed into the indolently conducted siege of Malborg. Lithuania gained only the area known as "Zmudz," which roughly corresponds with twentieth century Lithuania. Later wars failed to destroy the Order completely, but it ceased to be a menace to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Meanwhile not only the two States, but the two nations were being bound more closely together, for at the time of the conclusion of a new Union at Horodlo in 1413 the Polish nobility extended all their privileges and rights of armorial bearings to the Lithuanian nobility. For the Polish-Lithuanian Union was accomplished and established not by conquests, but by the granting of royal privileges to the citizens and by the fraternization of the nations concerned.

Yet the opportunity which then presented itself for the inclusion in the Union of the great State of Bohemia, which, under the domination of the Hussites, who originated from Wyclif's teachings, had applied to do so, was not taken. It was defeated by religious considerations and the opposition of the bishop and chancellor Olesnicki, a man of great political

influence, who also caused conflicts to arise with Lithuania. After the death of Witold, who had given unshaken fidelity to Jagiello, in 1430, Swidrygiello became Grand Duke of Lithuania, and, supported by the Orthodox nobles, he rose against Poland. But in 1432 Jagiello extended the privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Polish and Lithuanian nobility to the Ruthenian Orthodox boyars, thus removing certain defects in the Union of Horodlo.

But although Jagiello died in 1434, and during the minority of his son Wladyslaw 3rd (1434—1444) the country was governed by the magnates led by Bishop Olesnicki, the union between Poland and Lithuania endured. Swidrygiello, who was supported in his revolt by a second German Order, the Knights of the Sword, settled in the area of present-day Latvia, saw his army beaten to a man in a great battle at Swieca in 1435, and the new Grand Duke, Sigismund, submitted to Poland. But later Jagiello's younger son, Casimir, was sent to Lithuania as the Regent and Grand Duke.

Meanwhile Olesnicki had planned to unite the great State of Hungary to Poland, and thereafter to strike at Turkey, thus gaining Poland a dominant position in the Christian world. In fact Wladyslaw 3rd became King of Hungary in 1440, but disputes with the last Habsburg ruler of Hungary, Elizabeth, delayed and hindered the mastery of that country. When at last agreement was reached with the aid of the papal delegate Cesarini, Wladyslaw set out for the Balkans with Hungarian troops, commanded by the famous Hunyadi, and Polish forces, gaining great successes over the Turks. An armistice was reached with Turkey which was very beneficial to Hungary and Serbia, but the armistice was broken, and a new expedition against the Turks suffered defeat at Varna in 1444. It is worth noting that in all the history of these times only the Jagiellons ventured to strike against the entire Turkish army with the Sultan at its head. Wladyslaw died an heroic death in this battle, and history has nicknamed him Wladyslaw of Varna.

As false rumours were current that Wladyslaw had escaped alive, his brother, Casimir Jagiellon, who was ruling Lithuania, became ruler of Poland only in the year 1447. He reigned

unbrokenly till 1492 as the most powerful ruler in Eastern Europe. His country flourished in economic well-being and good government, and because of the liberty and privileges which the estates enjoyed in Poland by comparison with the regardless absolutism of Moscow and Turkey, from all parts of Europe men hastened to secure the protection of the Jagiellon state. As a ruler, at home Casimir broke the power of the magnates, and increased the importance of the smaller gentry, especially by the statute of Nieszawa in 1454. By the effects of this statute Poland was set on the road to parliamentary government, but unfortunately it was restricted to one estate. For the Polish nobility did not fully realize the importance of cities and commerce, and also trended towards the enserfment of the peasantry.

In his foreign policy Casimir aimed chiefly against the Orders. The Knights of the Cross were inhumanly oppressing the Polish and German inhabitants of Prussia, and even such German cities as Danzig. In 1397 these peoples began to organize in an alliance against the Order, and in 1454 the Prussian estates voluntarily submitted to Casimir Jagiellon, asking for their incorporation with Poland. This led to a war between Poland and the Order, which lasted from 1454 to 1466. At first, because of their great wealth and large forces, the Knights were successful, especially at Chojnice. But little by little the Poles captured Malborg (1457) and Chojnice, and wealthy Danzig especially supported them in their struggle. The peace of Torun was signed in 1466. By it the Order restored Pomorze, *i.e.* the lands lying west of the Vistula, and surrendered Danzig and part of Prussia with Malborg and Warmia, which thenceforth was known as Royal Prussia. It retained only part of the territory known to-day as East Prussia, as a vassal of the Polish king.

So Poland gained access to the sea, the mouth of the Vistula and an autonomous Danzig, and this Polish-German frontier which assured Poland access to the sea proved to be the most durable frontier in world history, for it lasted without major changes for 306 years. All historical experience shows that only a frontier which gives Poland full access to the sea can

exist for any length of time. Other territorial arrangements were continually being changed, but no "Danzig corridor" has ever existed for long either in the past or in the 20th century.

Casimir decided to recover the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones also for his sons, for they were theirs by inheritance through their mother, Elizabeth of Habsburg. For the time being, after the death of the Habsburg Wladyslaw the Posthumous, national kings had been enthroned by election: George of Podiebrad in Bohemia, and Maciej (Matthew) Korwin, the son of Hunyadi, in Hungary. But with the consent of King George, in 1471 the Czechs called Casimir's oldest son, Wladyslaw, to the throne, and on the death of Matthew this Wladyslaw Jagiellon, King of Bohemia, became King of Hungary.

Now the Jagiellon dynasty had members reigning from the Adriatic and Italy, reaching out to Austria, deep into Germany, and in the north along the Baltic. But in the East the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, which for long centuries had been under Tatar suzerainty, began to develop in strength and territory. The Ruthenian republics of Pskov and Novgorod the Great, which had been subject to Lithuania, now came under Moscow rule (1464 and 1474), and Lithuania began to be menaced by the powerful rivalry of Muscovy fighting to gather in her Ruthenian areas. Meantime Turkey was menacing the Polish maritime commerce over the Black Sea, capturing the port of Kilia at the mouth of the Danube and Ackermann on the Black Sea in 1484. So towards the end of the Jagiellon sway it appeared that Poland, the foundation of liberty, privileges and free elections of kings in all eastern Europe, would now have to suffer eclipse by these two states based on complete absolutism.

The growth of the Muscovite menace led to the formulation of plans for the association of Sweden with the Jagiellon dynasty, just as plans were made in Poland later to call the Vasa dynasty to the throne. But for the time being these plans came to nothing in face of the wars and changes occurring both in Poland and in Sweden, through the struggles with the Danes.

As the oldest of Casimir's sons, Wladyslaw, was already King of Bohemia and Hungary, Jan Olbracht became King in Poland (1492—1501), while the youngest son, Alexander, became

Grand Duke of Lithuania, which was already closely linked with Poland. Olbracht's reign was marked by the unsuccessful expedition against the Turks in 1497. This was planned to be a great Polish-Lithuanian expedition to capture the ports on the Black Sea. But the Polish king turned it against the valiant ruler of Moldavia, Stefan the Great, who with the aid of the Turks and Wallachians brought defeat on the Polish forces at Kozmin, and so diminished the prestige of Poland in the east. In the meantime, Muscovy was beginning to advance into Lithuanian territory. Attempts to reach an agreement through the marriage of Alexander with the daughter of the Grand Duke of Muscovy were without satisfactory results. After Olbracht's brief reign his brother, Alexander, also ruled for only a few years (1501—1506). The unified government of Poland and Lithuania which began with his reign lasted for centuries. He made certain concessions to the estates, including the adoption of the *Nihil Novi* principle in the constitution in 1505, so regularising parliamentary government in Poland. For by this act the king bound himself thenceforth not to decide any important matter without the agreement of the Senate, consisting of the higher officers of the state, *i.e.* of the magnates, and the agreement of the Sejm, consisting of deputies elected by the nobility and gentry. These deputies were in turn dependent on the sejmiks, or congresses of gentry of the various provinces. For instance, a proposal which King Henry VII of England made in 1502 for a Polish-English alliance had to be referred by Alexander, who approved, to the Sejm for discussion.

3

POLAND'S GOLDEN AGE

BOTH AT THE TIME AND LATER THE REIGN of the last two Jagiellon kings was called the Golden Age, for although more than one opportunity for easy conquests of other countries was lost, the citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian State of the Jagiellons, which was a constitutional monarchy, enjoyed great liberties and great

prosperity. This was true not only of the nobility and gentry class, but also of the burghers, for the cities began to decline only at a later period. Authority in the state was divided equally between the king and the Senate and Sejm.

Sigismund 1st, known as the "Old," reigned from 1506 to 1548. His wife, Queen Bona, of the Italian Sforzas, a woman of much wisdom, was of great assistance in establishing his sway. Early in his reign Sigismund had to wage long wars with Muscovy, defeating her at Orsza in 1514. An armistice followed, but Sigismund did not recover the important town of Smolensk. At the same time a protracted dispute with the Jagiellons' rival in Hungary and Bohemia, the Habsburgs, was ended for the time being in 1515, at the Congress of Vienna, by the marriage of Wladyslaw's children with the grand-children of Emperor Maximilian 1st. But now the Reformation was spreading over Europe, and ere long the Knights of the Cross in Prussia went over to Protestantism. Sigismund had no desire to exploit this situation, and in 1525 he agreed to the secularization of East Prussia, *i.e.* the Grand Master Albrecht Hohenzollern became the secular prince of Prussia, as a vassal of Poland. Albrecht did compulsory homage on bended knees to the Polish king in the Cracow Market Square.

But now Turkey was again menacing the Jagiellons. Once more a Jagiellon, the Hungarian King Louis 2nd, struck at the Sultan's forces in 1526 near Mohec. But he perished on the field of battle, from which the Habsburgs profited, as through marriage they now gained the whole of the Bohemian kingdom and part of Hungary. For the national King John Zapolia maintained his position in part of Hungary, being followed by his son. The Zapolias had political and family ties with the Jagiellons. The Poles however gained many victories in the east, resisting inroads from Muscovy and the politically unjustified invasions of Moldavia, *e.g.* in 1531. Meanwhile, the small but first-class regular army assured the south-eastern areas peace and protection from the Tatars. Unfortunately, towards the end of the reign came the first signs of the political intransigence later displayed by the nobility and gentry, *e.g.* in 1534.

Sigismund 1st's son and successor, Sigismund 2nd, Augustus

reigned from 1548 to 1572. Sigismund was a truly modern and unusually progressive monarch, with high educational and cultural standards. At the beginning of his reign he had a dispute with the parliament on account of his secret marriage with the beautiful princess Barbara of the Radziwills, which was regarded as a violation of the constitution, and was still further objected to because of the general dislike for the Lithuanian Radziwills. The king gained his way and Barbara was crowned as queen in 1550. She died not long after.

Sigismund's foreign policy was aimed at extending Polish rule along the Baltic. Sigismund 1st had entered into friendly relations with King Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, and now Sigismund Augustus also sought to gain Sweden's support against Muscovy. The issue became acute especially when Inflanta, *i.e.* the area of present-day Latvia, voluntarily placed itself under Polish protection, as Prussia had done earlier. But meanwhile a long war, lasting from 1562 to 1571, had broken out with Moscow, with Sweden and Denmark also intriguing for the same province of Inflanta. The Order of Knights of the Sword, which had been predominant in Inflanta, had been abolished, and the Grand Master Kettler held part of these areas, namely Courland, as a vassal of Poland. In the end Poland gained a considerable part of the province, and Sweden under Eric 14th retained Estonia.

In the meantime the family ties between the Jagiellons and the Vasas had been drawn still tighter, for Sigismund Augustus gave his sister Catherine in marriage with John of Finland, the son of Gustavus Vasa. But unfortunately the essentially petty differences of interests which existed between the two countries were enlarged out of all proportion by religious differences.

However, a more important issue was now arising, in the form of Poland's internal government. At a time when all the rest of Europe was engaged in wholesale slaughter in the religious wars, both Sigismund 1st and 2nd had stood for an attitude of unprecedented religious tolerance and benevolence to foreigners, among whom were numerous Scotsmen who were engaged in trade in Poland. Protestants of all denominations, persecuted in all other countries, sought asylum in Poland, which became

known as the *asilium hereticorum*. In 1569 Sigismund Augustus openly declared: "I shall not place burdens on anyone's conscience; of a truth, it is not my intention, for it is not my task to create religion." Even in those days Poland had a marked inclination towards a national church, but when Catholicism developed extensive but exclusively verbal propaganda in the country it became evident that the great majority of Poles would remain Catholics.

At the same time certain partial internal reforms were carried through. The magnates were deprived of the royal properties which they had illegally appropriated, and a small but efficient army was formed from part of the receipts from these lands. But the factor of most importance in Poland's home affairs was the circumstance that the brilliant dynasty of the Jagiellons, which had been idolized by all, was coming to an end. For Sigismund had no children. So he tried to ensure that the two Jagiellon states, Poland and Lithuania, should be united, though voluntarily, on a permanent basis. Despite all the difficulties the two countries were permanently united in 1569 by the Union of Lublin. First the deputies of Podlasie, Volhynia and Podolia (*i.e.* of Ukraine including Kiev) united voluntarily with Poland, as "free with the free, equal with the equal," and then Poland with the Ruthenian lands concluded a union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the same year. Lithuania retained a separate government, treasury and army, but there was to be one king, and, most important of all, a common parliament for both countries. Of course foreign policy was to be unified. Royal Prussia became part of Poland, and Danzig was granted an autonomous constitution. The growing importance of Warsaw as the capital dates from this time, though the former capital, Cracow, remained the city in which the kings were crowned.

THE ELECTED KINGS

A. STEFAN BÁTORY AND THE VASAS

WITH THE EXTINCTION OF THE illustrious and beloved dynasty of the Jagiellons a constitutional form was established of which the rudiments had already begun to exist. Poland became in fact, and indeed called itself a Commonwealth, headed by a king elected for life. None the less, despite the full parliamentary democracy established, because of his power to dispose of high offices and large revenues from the royal possessions the king had great political power and influence on state affairs.

Meanwhile, the form of election had to be settled. Under the influence of John Zamoyski, known as the tribune of the common gentry, the principle was laid down that the king was to be elected by all the nobility and gentry without exception, voting in person, at electoral congresses known as *election viritim*. But in reality usually the views of the high officers of state, *i.e.* the senators, were decisive, as their lead was followed by the gentry. But this form of election was not satisfactory, for it enabled the politically undeveloped gentry living nearest to Warsaw to have a very powerful influence. Moreover, in all subsequent elections the dislike of *absolutum dominium*, in other words of strong government, was decisive. This explains why the Habsburgs never gained the crown of Poland, though they always put forward candidates, for they were regarded as representatives of reaction and oppressors of liberty.

At the first election the French candidate, Henri of Valois, was elected king, though the Night of St. Bartholomew in Paris nearly ruined his chances. Henri, like every king after him, had to sign the *pacta conventa*, by which he bound himself to respect the people's liberties. Among these liberties was the

complete freedom of conscience for all varieties of Protestants which had been secured by the Confederation of Warsaw in 1573, at which a general agreement among the Protestants had been reached for complete freedom of faith, this being unanimously confirmed by the Sejm.

Henri governed for only a few months (1573-74), for he slipped quietly out of Poland and went to France, preferring to be a hereditary rather than an elected monarch. He ascended the throne of France as Henri 3me. When he failed to return to Poland a new election was held, at which the prince of Transylvania, the capable ruler and military leader, Stefan Batory, was chosen (1576—1586). Batory directed his attention primarily to the danger which threatened Poland on the Baltic. He shattered the resistance of Danzig (1576—1577), but left the city its autonomy, and then from 1577 to 1582 waged three victorious wars against Russia, which in the reign of Ivan the "Terrible" had risen to great power and threatened Poland on the north. King Batory, who had organized a fine infantry from the peasants of the royal estates, set out for Russia in 1579, 1580 and 1581. Each time he captured such highly important centres as Polotsk and Vielikie Luki, and laid siege to Pskov. Completely defeated, Ivan concluded an armistice, by which he recognized Poland's right to all Inflanta and part of present-day Estonia, and also Polotsk and other provinces. Only the intervention of the Pope, to whom Ivan held out hopes of a church union, enabled Russia to escape complete and utter defeat. Batory, who relied in all matters on the great political and military talent of the chancellor and hetman Zamoyiski, was energetic in internal affairs also ; for instance, when the magnate Zborowski violated the law and security of the realm, he was beheaded, and respect for the law was enforced.

This great king died in the midst of plans for a vast expedition against Turkey. After his death a member of the Swedish Vasa dynasty was elected to the throne. This dynasty desired to see Poland remain a great power, yet Sigismund 3rd entangled Poland in a meaningless war with that country. A decisive factor in Batory's election had been his marriage to the last Jagiellon on the female side. Now Sigismund Vasa was

elected as Sigismund 3rd because his mother was a Jagiellon.* A large faction supported the candidature of Maximilian Habsburg, but he was defeated in an armed rising in Silesia by the chancellor Zamoyski, and taken prisoner.

The long reign of Sigismund 3rd (1587—1632) was a period of Polish power, though internal conditions were deteriorating, for the king gradually departed from the previous Polish policy of toleration, and towards the end of his life came more and more under the influence of the Jesuits. Moreover, Sigismund came into conflict with Zamoyski. But in external policy Poland had great successes : not only in Moldavia but even in Wallachia Poland established the Mogila (Mohila) as vassals, and the Polish forces marched victoriously to the Danube. Meanwhile, warrior Cossack bands were being created which, while they fought the Turks and the Tatars, also frequently rose in revolts which had to be suppressed. The year 1595 saw the Union of Brzesc, by which a certain section of the Orthodox Church linked up with Rome as a separate Uniate or Greek-Catholic Church. But this led to endless conflicts with the Orthodox Church, though it has to be remarked that even to-day a section of the Ruthenian peoples living in Polish territory (now known as Ukrainians) is Catholic, while the majority are Orthodox.

In the meantime, soon after the death of John 3rd, King of Sweden, difficulties between Poland and Sweden arose in consequence of the fact that when Sigismund 3rd was elected

* GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SWEDISH & POLISH VASAS.

Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden.

a. Eric 14th. d. 1578. b. John 3rd. c. 1592. Charles 9th K. of Sweden (1604-1611).

Sigismund 3rd, K. of Poland (1587-1632). a. Gustavus Adolphus. and of Sweden (to 1604). (1611-1632) b. Catherine.

a. Wladyslaw 4th. b. John Casimir. c. Charles Christina. Charles 10th
1632-1648. 1648-1668. Ferdinand. 1632-1654. Gustavus.
Bishop of 1654-1660.
Breslau & Polotsk.

king in 1587 he had promised to unite Estonia with Poland. Sigismund was crowned King of Sweden in 1593, but the country was governed by his uncle, Regent Charles, Prince of Sudermania. In 1598 Charles began a domestic war with Sigismund, ending by expelling Sigismund's troops from both Finland and Estonia, which Sigismund now openly declared to be Polish.

The Polish Commonwealth did not desire this dynastic war with Sweden, and Sigismund entered into it in 1600 despite Polish opposition, with the result that Charles invaded Inflanta from Estonia and occupied it all except Riga, in 1601. But the war dragged on, until in 1604 Charles was raised to the Swedish throne as Charles 9th, and set out on an expedition against Riga. But the Polish troops, commanded by the famous hetman Chodkiewicz, and consisting of 4,000 Polish hussars, gained a great victory over Charles' army of 14,000 men at Kirchholm. Inflanta generally was recovered, but the war dragged on sluggishly till the death of Charles 9th and the armistice of 1611.

While all this was happening great prospects had opened for Poland of conquering all Russia. The Polish magnates with adventurers and Cossacks had placed Dmitry the Pretender, who claimed to be the last of the Rurik dynasty, and who later married a Polish woman, on the throne of Muscovy. But revolution broke out and he was overthrown, and in the meantime disturbances broke out in Poland. After the death of Zamoyski a section of the nobility made the "rebellion of Zebrzydowski" (1606—1608) against the royal government. But they were beaten to a man by the outstanding Polish leaders Chodkiewicz and Zolkiewski, who had remained faithful to the king. None the less Sigismund had to make a compromise agreement with the opposition.

The question of the Moscow succession was the cause of a war which lasted from 1609 to 1618. As further pretenders arose in opposition to the new Tsar Vassily Shuiski, the Russians considered choosing Sigismund's son, Wladyslaw, as Tsar. Zolkiewski set out for Moscow in command of a small but excellent force, and in 1610 with 6,000 men defeated tens of thousands of Moscow troops and Swedish mercenaries at

Kluszyn, and reached Moscow. Elected Tsar by the boyars, Prince Wladyslaw entered Moscow, and the Russian Tsar Vassily and his family were brought back in triumph as prisoners to Warsaw, while the important town of Smolensk was captured.

Unfortunately, the king himself laid claim to the crown of Muscovy, and by his policy, which included support of the Jesuits and Catholics, ruined these successes. A revolt started in Moscow, the Polish garrison was besieged, and forced to capitulate because of its shortage of food, and a new Romanov dynasty was started in 1613, by the election of Michael, the son of the Metropolitan, to the throne. But the war dragged on until at last Prince Wladyslaw himself set out at the head of an army and again reached the outskirts of Moscow. This led to peace being signed in 1618, Poland gaining enormous expanses of territory in the east, including Smolensk, Chornygov, and other important centres.

In 1618 the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth amounted to 1,017,000 square kilometres, whereas in 1770 it was only 733,500 square kilometres, and in 1939 389,720 square kilometres.

Meanwhile Poland, which had created a fleet with the aid of a Scotsman named Murray, was carrying on the war with Sweden (1617—1619) and its new ruler, Gustavus Adolphus, the great military leader and hero of the Thirty Years' War. At first Sweden was victorious, capturing the majority of Inflanta, Riga, Mitau, and even the larger part of Royal Prussia ; but in 1629 the Poles defeated Gustavus Adolphus at Trzciana. But the Commonwealth was reluctant to wage this war, and Gustavus Adolphus had larger plans in view. France and England intervened in order to have the service of the Swedish troops in the Thirty Years' War against the Habsburgs. With their intermediation Poland concluded an unfavourable armistice at Altmark in 1629, and Gustavus Adolphus, retaining not only Inflanta, but a number of Royal Prussian towns, entered the larger arena of European history as the chief hero of the Thirty Years' War.

During this war Poland had to withstand an attack from the entire earthly power of Turkey, for reasons not unconnected

with Sigismund's support of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Ferdinand 2nd. In 1620 Hetman Zolkiewski set out with an army to the aid of Moldavia. But he was defeated at Cecora and died a hero's death. Turkey had decided to subdue all Europe, and the Sultan himself set out against Poland at the head of an army larger and greater than any the world had known hitherto. Poland called on forces from all parts and sent for aid even to England. Ossolinski, the Polish Ambassador to England, a distinguished figure in his own country, amazed London by his erudition and was given a magnificent reception. The Poles assembled an army of 65,000 men, consisting of regular troops, mercenaries and cossacks. Under the command of the old hetman Chodkiewicz and the king's son-and-heir, Wladyslaw, long and furious battles were fought near Chocim in 1621, which had the effect of bringing to a standstill the entire might of Turkey commanded by the Sultan himself—an achievement no other state in Europe could equal. Meanwhile Poland organized her defence in the east against the Tatars, holding them in check.

There was always a tendency in Poland to support both the principle of election and the dynastic succession in successive elections. So Sigismund's son, who was loved by the nation and popular all over the Commonwealth, was elected without opposition, the formalities lasting half-an-hour, and reigned successfully as Wladyslaw 4th from 1632 to 1648. He fought a victorious war against Russia, and concluded peace with that country in 1634. By this treaty Russia had to cede various territories and to renounce all claims to the present-day states of Latvia and Estonia in Poland's favour. Similarly the king not only put an end to the Turkish invasions and numerous cossack risings, but, supported by Chancellor Ossolinski, planned a great expedition against Turkey with the financial aid of his illustrious French wife, Maria Louis Gonzaga. Unfortunately this preventive war was never fought, as the Polish nobility and gentry were afraid that the king would achieve too much power, through the possession of a large army.

The great possibilities which this king, who was popular at home, had before him were partly spoilt by his constant

desire to recover the crown of Sweden. He attempted to gain that crown both by negotiations and by warlike plans. But the Sejm did not support the king's designs and itself brought about the new twenty years' armistice at Sztumdorf in 1635, which restored the occupied parts of Prussia to Poland, and left the *status quo* in Inflanta. Wladyslaw's later oscillations of policy between France and the Habsburgs did not achieve any results, and the Thirty Years' War ended with no profit either to Poland or to the king.

Meanwhile the cossacks of the Ukraine, who had been preparing for the great Turkish war which the king planned, broke into revolt in 1648, under the leadership of the very outstanding cossack ataman, Bogdan Chmielnicki, who, by the way, was a Polish nobleman. The revolt was directed more against the local magnates than against the king and Poland. Taken by surprise, the Polish forces in the Ukraine suffered defeat, especially at Korsun, where even the commanders or hetman were taken prisoner. In the midst of this turmoil, the king, who was highly popular among the cossacks, died unexpectedly, and Poland once more entered a period of interregnum, at a time of menacing internal storm.

This interregnum was particularly unfortunate, because after the breakdown of negotiations the cossacks scattered the Polish army at Pilawce ; but Lwow, which at all times remained faithful to Poland, defended itself valiantly, and the fortress of Zamosc held up the cossack inroads. After a period of disputes among Sigismund's sons, his second son, John Casimir, was elected king, reigning from 1648 to 1668. At first the cossacks withdrew while awaiting the royal decision on their claims, but later they joined forces with the Tatars and advanced into Poland again. They were halted near Zbaraz by the heroic defence of the town under the commander Firlej, and by the indecisive battle of Zborow (1649). Even while this battle was raging, through Ossolinski's efforts and with the Tatars as intermediaries an agreement was reached granting the cossack forces, up to 40,000 men, fargoing territorial autonomy. But a new war broke out within a year or two (1651), in which John Casimir inflicted a crushing defeat on the cossacks and Tatars

at Beresteczko. Yet the cossack wars continued, through a Polish defeat at Batoh and an agreement at Zwaniec. Worse still, Chmielnicki, who had established himself as Hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks, with rather nominal dependence on Poland, concluded the agreement of Pereyaslav (1654), whereby he submitted himself and the Ukraine to the Tsar of Russia. A new Polish-Russian war broke out, during which the Russian army occupied a number of towns and districts belonging to Poland, and penetrated as far as Vilno. But now a still more unfortunate war (1655—1660) began as the result of the invasion of Poland by Swedish troops under Charles Gustavus, the 10th. In Polish history this period is known as "The Flood," for enemies poured over Poland from almost all directions. Yet Poland succeeded in withstanding her enemies, and even maintained her frontiers as a great state.

This new Polish-Swedish war had dynastic issues at the back of it. Among its causes were John Casimir's continued claim to the crown of Sweden, his protest against Charles 10th's ascent of the throne, the instigation of the Polish renegade, Radziejowski, and Charles' own desire for military successes.

At first, owing to the treachery of various Polish magnates in Wielkopolska and Lithuania, and the delusive hopes of the nobility and the military that Charles would respect their liberties, if he took the place of the other Vasa, John Casimir, the Swedish forces swept right across Poland as far as Cracow, and the king had to take shelter in Silesia. Hetman Janusz Radziwill for his part surrendered Lithuania. But reaction set in swiftly, and there was a rising among the gentry and even the common people. The remnants of the troops renewed the struggle, the towns resisted the Swedes, conspiracies, known as confederations, were formed against Sweden, and the unsuccessful attempt of the Swedes to conquer the famous monastery at Czestochowa incited still greater resistance. John Casimir was promised some, though not great help by the emperor. The king now returned to Poland, to Lwow, and recovered many districts, including the capital, Warsaw. Charles the 10th was supported by all the might of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns and even gained a victory at Warsaw (1656).

But the Swedish armies were steadily driven out of more and more areas, the Polish commander, Czarniecki, especially distinguishing himself in these operations. An Hungarian invasion by the Transylvanian prince Rakoczy, who was an ally of the Swedes, in 1657, did not help them at all, and the cossack menace also did not materialize, for in 1656 the Poles concluded an armistice with Russia, and destroyed all these attacks in turn in Poland and Lithuania. They were even able to send troops to the help of Denmark, where the Polish cavalry led by Czarniecki covered itself with glory. Peace was finally signed at Oliwo in 1660, France acting as intermediary. John Casimir renounced his claims to Sweden, though retaining his title for life, while Poland recovered all the disputed lands with the exception of Inflanta beyond the Dvina. This purposeless war came to an end very happily for Poland, for she now had to deal with the important question of the Ukraine. But it was the Prussian Hohenzollerns who temporarily gained the benefit, as they were permanently freed from vassaldom to Poland by the treaty of 1657.

At the same time the situation in regard to Russia was undergoing a change. The cossacks now realized that their association with Moscow was the greatest of misfortunes so far as Ukrainian freedom was concerned. The new Hetman, Wyhovski, soon returned to the idea of reconciliation with Poland, and in 1658 the Union of Hadziacz was concluded, whereby the Cossack lands, *i.e.* that part of present-day Ukraine lying along the Dnieper, were to constitute a third autonomous part of the Polish-Lithuanian State, possessing its own military force, officials and hetman. This Union at once brought happy results, but regrettably a succession of cossack hetmen quarrelled among themselves, until Moscow succeeded in taking possession of the Dnieper lands. Unfortunately the successes of Polish arms against Russia were nullified by confederations over the issue of soldiers' pay and by the cossacks' own internecine struggles. In the end the cossack hetman Doroshenko submitted to Turkey, this happening in 1665, and so brought Poland new dangers of Turkish and Cossack-Turkish invasions. In 1667 Poland concluded an armistice with Russia at Andrushev,

whereby Russia renounced Inflanta, Vitebsk and Polotsk, but recovered Smolensk, Sievierz, Czornigov and the Dnieperland Ukraine with Kiev, which was ceded for a period of two years. This armistice established the general eastern frontiers of Poland, and divided the Ukraine into Polish and Russian spheres.

Thus the unhappy reign of the active military leader and well-intentioned King John Casimir passed amid continual wars. Still worse, internal affairs were going from bad to worse, especially as the result of the unfortunate principle that a parliamentary majority could put an end to any session of the Sejm. This principle later developed into the fatal practice of the right of every deputy to veto measures, by a similar suspension of the Sejm (*liberum veto*). But as in all important state affairs the legal authority was in the hands of the Sejm, and as the deliberations of the Sejm were interrupted again and again by the act of the minority, a period of degeneration in parliamentary institutions set in in Poland, this being one of the many causes of the decline of the Polish state and nation.

King John Casimir was childless, and he desired to avoid the evil effects of free elections. On the initiative of Queen Maria Louis Gonzaga, he attempted to secure the election of a French candidate as king during his own lifetime. This provoked the extremely serious revolt of one of Poland's leading magnates, Lubomirski (1664—1666); during this revolt the king's troops suffered a severe defeat at Matwy. The dispute finally ended in reconciliation, but from that date there was no further attempt to eliminate the practice of free elections or to institute constitutional reforms, and the royal power never recovered. Dispirited by so many misfortunes, John Casimir abdicated in 1668 and went to France, and steps were taken to elect a new king.

B. THE NATIVE KINGS

BECAUSE OF THE PETTY GENTRY'S GENERAL dislike of the magnates' intrigues with a number of foreign candidates, to the general surprise the completely incompetent and youthful Pole, Michal Wisnowiecki,

the son of a magnate popular because of his activities in the Cossack wars, was acclaimed king. Wisnowiecki was a fatal choice, especially as he was a dependent of the Habsburgs, and his reign brought further misfortunes. The Sultan himself, as the Cossacks' overlord, set out a further expedition against Poland, and in 1672 the Turks captured Kamieniec Podolski, a powerful fortress. They drove deep into the country, and even forced Poland to conclude the shameful armistice of Buczacz, which, however, was not ratified by the Sejm. When the internal disorders were settled, Poland went over to the counter-attack, and in 1673, Hetman John Sobieski, the newly-rising military star of Poland, defeated the Turks at Chocim. The young king died in the same year.

It is not surprising, therefore, that against all the foreign candidates for the throne Sobieski was elected king unanimously as King John 3rd (1674—1696). Sobieski's first task was to drive back the Turks. In 1674 a further struggle broke out with the Turks and Tatars, a war which was marked by the victorious battle of Lwow and the defence of Trembowla. But in 1676 overwhelming Turkish forces surrounded Sobieski with a small army at Zorawno. The heroic defence of Zorawno led to the conclusion of a favourable treaty, whereby two-thirds of the Ukraine returned to Poland, and one-third remained under Turkish suzerainty. But as the result of all these revolts and wars, and especially of the Cossacks' own subjection to Russia and Turkey, the Ukraine was laid completely waste. After Zorawno Polish policy trended towards Louis 14th and plans for a struggle against the Elector of Brandenburg with a view to recovering East Prussia. But, influenced by Lithuanian opposition and by the group which desired to see the fight continued against the Muslims, by Rome, and the queen's petty intriguing, in 1683 Poland joined the "Holy League" in an alliance with the Austrian Emperor Leopold 1st against the Turks.

An enormous Turkish army under the command of the vizier Kara Mustapha had driven back the Austrian forces and had laid siege to Vienna, which was valiantly defended by Stahremberg, for the Emperor had fled. Despite numerous

reinforcements from Germany (with the exception of Brandenburg) the Austrian troops did not dare to attack the Turks, who numbered 136,000. Sobieski rode to the aid of the Austrians by a rapid march with 25,000 men, chiefly cavalry. On September 12th the Christian army, numbering 76,000 men, commanded by King John Sobieski, struck at the Turks. The main attack was carried out by the Polish heavy cavalry, the famous hussars, who shattered the main body of the Turks and captured their encampment. For despite German attempts to put a false interpretation on their services in this battle, Turkish sources generally recognise only Sobieski and the Poles as serious opponents. The western Christian world and Christian culture were saved by Poland, who, however, unlike Austria, gained no benefit from the victory.

After the Battle of Vienna Sobieski gained a further victory at Parkan, after a preliminary failure, so enabling the Austrians to recover Hungary and smash the Turkish power in Europe completely. On the other hand Poland paid for her ineffective attempt to draw Russia into the war with Turkey by having to sign the peace of Grzymultow in 1686, which confirmed the armistice of 1667 and the permanent loss of Kiev. Meanwhile Polish forces, and later Sobieski himself, made expeditions to Moldavia, *i.e.* to Rumania, in 1685, 1686 and 1691, unfortunately without success. For although the Polish forces again penetrated as far as the Danube, they had to withdraw owing to lack of food and the devastation of the country.

Sobieski's rule at home was less fortunate. No reforms were carried through, and there was an increase in petty disputes and in the impotence of the degenerate parliamentary system. To a large extent this was due to the caprices of Sobieski's wife, Maria Casimira, a French woman, who aroused the Poles' dislike, and who finally opposed her own son James' candidature for the throne. The interregnum of 1696—1697 led to the victory of neither the Polish nor the French candidate, and the Elector of Saxony was elected to the throne through bribery and illegal pressure. Augustus 2nd, Elector of Saxony and of the Wettin family (the first German dynasty), and his son after him, completed the disintegration of the Polish state.

POLAND'S DECLINE UNDER THE HOUSE OF
SAXONY

AUGUSTUS 2ND, WHO WAS NICKNAMED THE Strong because of his physical strength, reigned from 1697 to 1733. In the light of recent research he is revealed to be a ruler not without capacity, but in his policies he was completely dishonest and immoral and had no regard to the interests of his new Polish kingdom. He began by successfully completing the war begun by Sobieski, and in 1699 by the treaty of Karlowice, Poland recovered the Ukraine and Podolia from the Turks, together with the famous fortress of Kamieniec. At this time and down to the partitions, Poland covered an area of 733,500 square kilometres, this being twice as much as Poland of the 20th century. But this great State fell into a condition of internal impotence, through the unfortunate rule of the Saxon kings and the degeneration of the parliamentary system. For time after time the sejms were interrupted by the exercise of the *liberum veto*. The lack of financial resources for armed forces, which were steadily reduced to a smaller and smaller scale, with on the other hand the increasing irruption of foreign, chiefly Saxon, and later Russian troops into Polish territory, laying the country waste ; the rapid and general decline of the towns, the exceptional power of the nobility over all others, and the weakening of executive power, were symptomatic of Poland's condition. There was a general decline in culture and enlightenment, while the gentry generally were heedlessly pacifistic and concerned only with enjoying life.

Moreover, Augustus 2nd took Poland into the protracted Northern War (1700—1721), which was not only of no interest to the country, but turned it rather into a field of operations than an active participant in the struggle. Having, at Rawa Ruska, entered into an alliance with the Tsar of Russia, Peter the Great, without the knowledge of his people, Augustus marched against the Swedish King, Charles 12th, in the hope

of gain. But Charles was possessed of a military talent which amounted to genius. He defeated the Danes, shattered the Russian army, which was five times as large as his own, at Narvia, humbled the Saxon forces brought to Poland at Riga, and entered Lithuania. In 1701 he demanded the abdication of Augustus 2nd. The Polish Sejm demanded that peace should be concluded, but would not agree to the abdication. Meanwhile, Charles 12th was occupying town after town, including Cracow, and especially the fortress of Torun, and defeated the Saxons again at Kliszow and Pultusk. Then in 1704 he forced the temporary dethronement of Augustus 2nd and the election of the noble and well-loved provincial governor, Stanislaw Leszcynski, as Augustus had flung Sobieski's sons into prison. In 1705 an alliance was concluded with Sweden, but Augustus, who had bound his fortunes completely with Peter the Great, continued the struggle. Pursued by Charles 12th right into Saxony, he had to abdicate (1706), and all the European States, including England, recognised Stanislaw Leszcynski as the King of Poland. Charles 12th's armies drove the Saxons and Russians out of all Poland and Lithuania, and even occupied Lwow, which had never been conquered before.

But now a complete change in the situation occurred. The Ukrainian cossacks made one last attempt to gain political independence, and the Hetman Mazepa revolted and called on Charles 12th to march on Moscow. Unfortunately, the new Swedish reinforcements and the cossack aid proved too weak, and winter worked havoc among the troops. Charles 12th suffered total defeat at Poltava in 1709, and on the advice of Stanislaw Poniatowski he took shelter in Turkey. Now, Augustus 2nd returned to Poland and, after protracted struggles, expelled Leszcynski. The war dragged on, for in 1711 Turkey entered the field on Sweden's side ; but Augustus 2nd was not overthrown, and the sole result was that Poland was reduced to disorder, with foreign troops from country after country fighting on Polish soil against the Polish gentry and nobility. Faced with internal turmoil at home, Charles 12th returned to Sweden, and in 1714 the dethroned King Leszcynski took up residence in Charles' native home at Zweibrucken. But the

memory and tradition of Charles 12th, who had aroused the enthusiasm of the Poles by his heroically soldierly qualities, remained in Poland. The peace which ended this war in 1721 ceded Polish Inflanta to Russia.

As the Saxon troops, who during these struggles had made themselves at home in Poland, were pillaging and looting to a more and more intolerable extent, the Polish gentry rose and formed a confederation. Peter the Great called on both sides to sign an armistice, but with the aid of Russian troops he forced a settlement which was only to the disadvantage of Poland, by restricting the numbers of soldiers at the disposal of the Commonwealth to 24,000. From the date of this Warsaw agreement of 1717 Poland remained continually under strong Russian influence. For that matter, Augustus 2nd himself was planning to cede certain Polish provinces in order to establish an absolutist government, and a further complication was that religious intolerance, long unknown in Poland, was now growing. The king himself, who transferred his allegiance from Protestantism to Catholicism only after he ascended the Polish throne, covered himself with infamy by sanguinary sentences against the Protestant burghers of Torun for attacks on the Jesuit College in 1724. This affair aroused much criticism in Europe, including England, and led to the opinion that Poland was a country of intolerance, although in reality that was contrary to all Polish history, and was the work of a ruler from a German, and in fact a Protestant dynasty. Meanwhile, disputes over the throne of Courland had prepared the way for Poland's loss of that country, and despite continual exertions Augustus 2nd failed to ensure his son's election as his successor in Poland. Poland's internal conditions grew consistently worse, and although from 1732 onward she had good relations with Sweden, Sweden itself had grown weak internally, and was succumbing to Russian machinations.

On the death of Augustus 2nd there were more disputes over the succession. France supported Leszczyński's candidature ; his daughter had become the wife of King Louis 15th. But at the last moment Russia and Austria reached an understanding, and under the pressure of Russian troops, Augustus,

the son of Augustus 2nd, was proclaimed king in 1733, although Stanislaw Leszczynski had already been elected with a unanimity and a legality rare in Poland of the time. But France did not give any strong support to her candidate ; a "War of Polish Succession" broke out (1733—1738), but it had no influence on the Polish issues. Augustus 3rd retained the throne, and Leszczynski, with the title of king, was given the principality of Lorraine, which afterwards passed to France. Leszczynski died there in 1766, having governed justly and mildly, proclaiming the necessity for reforms in Poland, and giving education to young Poles.

Now Poland had to endure the most shameful reign of Augustus 3rd (1733—1763). The king was a complete nincompoop, and his counsellor Bruhl was really the ruler. During the reign of Augustus 2nd only five out of eighteen Sejms had continued to their appointed end ; but now the situation was so bad that during the reign of Augustus 3rd all the Sejms except one were interrupted before their completion of the term. In regard to finance, administration, an increase in the size of the army, and many other internal affairs the situation was as bad. Poland's foreign policy was one of complete passivity. The Polish government's attitude was that of pacifistic non-intervention in war, and everybody thought that if Poland was weak and without an army she would be a menace to no one, and so would not herself be menaced. It was naively assumed that this defenceless pacifism, disorder and dislike of any war at all would protect the State against the avidity of its neighbours. Two parties struggled for mastery in the country, the Czartoryski family and Potocki's adherents. The Czartoryskis inclined towards carrying through the necessary reforms in Poland, with the support of Russia, while the Potockis reckoned on France, Turkey and Sweden. But the general result was a further steady decline in education, and disorganization of the army. So when Augustus 3rd of miserable memory died, in 1764, the Czartoryskis, with the aid of the Russians, ensured the election to the throne of their nephew, Stanislaw Poniatowski. Poniatowski, the son of the governor already mentioned, had received the support of Catherine 2nd, the Russian Tsaritsa, since the time when he was ambassador in Petersburg.

THE BELATED RENASCENCE AND DOWNFALL OF
POLAND

THE LONG REIGN (1764—1795) OF THE LAST King of Poland, Stanislaw Augustus Poniatowski, saw the unfortunately belated internal revival of the nation, and the tragic partitioning and disappearance of the State.

Under the new king the Czartoryski party came to power, and their first step was to introduce certain vital internal reforms into the Convocation Sejm, by way of ordering Sejm affairs and strengthening the central authority, and also protecting the towns against arbitrary activities on the part of the nobility and gentry. Unfortunately, the objection of Russia and Prussia rendered it impossible to abolish the *liberum veto*. King Stanislaw Augustus was a man of the best intentions, great abilities, great knowledge and culture, but of weak character. Moreover, because he had been brought to the throne with Russian aid he was not supported and was not popular at home. Internal disputes began almost at once, chiefly as the result of the intervention of Catherine 2nd, who in this matter was supported by Sweden. She claimed to be acting in defence of the dissenters and Orthodox, but in reality she only aroused distrust and weakened the king's position, while undermining order. Through her agents she insidiously provoked the movement of the Radom Confederation in 1768, which was exploited to frustrate the king's and the Czartoryskis' efforts to carry through reforms. Catherine's ambassador, Repnin, broke attempts to resist certain Russian demands by seizing and carrying off several Polish senators.

Meanwhile, another confederation, the rising of the nobility at Bar, broke out prematurely and without any adequate preparation. This confederation began a struggle against the Russian forces of occupation, which went on for four years (1768—1772). The confederation was initiated by the nobleman Pulaski, whose sons, especially Casimir, gained a reputation for valour in the battles. Its political leader was bishop Adam

Krasinski. From the very beginning the confederation (which was dominated by a desire to return to the past privileges of the nobles, proclaimed anti-royal catchwords, and was without political thought) suffered defeats, while into the bargain Russia incited a peasant rising in the Ukraine, during which many of the gentry class were slaughtered. None the less, because it stood for a struggle against Russia, which unfortunately involved a struggle against the royal forces, the confederation spread over all Poland and Lithuania. The conflict was long drawn out, but although it had the unostentatious patronage of Austria and was supported by drafts of French officers, it had no serious military results, apart from the defence of Czeszochowa. In the end an unsuccessful attempt to carry off the king completely discredited the confederation.

Meanwhile, Russia had concluded a victorious war against the Turks and was threatening a quarrel with Austria in regard to sharing the booty. However, the King of Prussia, Frederick 2nd, put forward a plan, at first through intermediaries and then directly, for all three States—Russia, Prussia and Austria—to come to agreement at the price of the annexation of certain provinces of Poland.

For Catherine 2nd this meant a partial resignation of her plans for the direct domination of all Poland, but after negotiations she agreed, as did the Empress Maria Theresa, who, having assented to the proposal, influenced by her son, later Joseph 2nd, displayed the largest appetite of all. On January 5th, 1772, an agreement was reached in which Russia obtained a north-eastern part with the province of Inflanta and White-Ruthenia as far as the Dvina—all extensive, but less important areas ; Prussia gained Pomerania, *i.e.* Royal Prussia, but without Danzig and Torun ; while Austria gained "Galicia," *i.e.* the southern part of Malopolska (without Cracow) and the majority of Red Ruthenia as far as the Zbrucz. The Prussian annexation was the most painful of all for Poland, for it cut her off from the sea, with which she retained connections only along the river Vistula and through Danzig. The Austrian annexation, too, was a painful blow, for this area was the most densely populated. That was Austria's repayment to Poland for saving her at Vienna.

Poland was in no state to defend herself, and the rest of Europe had no real understanding of what was happening. Even the King of Britain, George 3rd, replied to Stanislaw Augustus's appeal with the words, that apart from God he "saw no intervention which could be of help." The Confederation of Bar broke to pieces, losing its last fortresses and after exhausting the country, while the king protested impotently. A Sejm delegation had to confirm the partition in 1773. But, under the influence of the shock administered by the partition, a regeneration set in among the Polish nation.

The most important of the reforms awaiting consummation was that of fundamentals, *i.e.* of education. In 1773 the Order of Jesuits was suspended, and all the great properties of the Order were transferred to an Educational Commission. This Commission, which in practice was a Ministry of Education, began a gigantic revival of education, schools, and the enlightenment of the entire nation, the plans being carried through with extraordinary speed. And in the very Sejm which had confirmed the first partition the first attempts were made to set up a stronger government, known as the Permanent Council. But the most important factor was the moral shock which the entire nation, including the gentry, had suffered; the nobility and gentry in particular realised at last what the degeneration of the parliamentary system, and the consequent anarchy, had brought the country to, together with the toleration of lawlessness, the decline of the towns and the burgher estate, and the wrongly conceived, unrestricted golden liberty of the one class of nobility, exploiting the other estates. In all spheres the expression of this revival was the Sejm known as the "Four Year Sejm" (1788—1792), which took advantage of the fact that Russian hands were again tied by a war with Turkey, and then with Sweden. The Sejm decided to carry through fundamental reforms, but unfortunately the party supporting the reforms, known as the patriotic party, reckoned that if a conflict arose with Russia they would have the support of Prussia. But, as later events proved, Prussia encouraged this anti-Russian trend simply in order to betray Poland at the suitable moment. There was of course a strong reactionary party in the Sejm, under Russian influence and

against the reforms, and especially the abolition of the free election of kings. But even this party could not fight against such reforms as that of the army or the status of towns. As a first step it was decided to raise the army to 100,000, but this was only partly put into operation, for inadequate taxes were voted. The Sejm, which had entered into a preliminary agreement that it could not be suspended by resort to the *liberum veto*, appealed once more to the election of additional deputies and gained the nobility and gentry's support for a number of issues, but not for the proposal that the throne should be hereditary. In 1790 an alliance for mutual defence was concluded with Prussia. One of the most important reforms was the urban reform, which extended the nobility's right of *neminem captivabimus* (no imprisonment without trial) to the burghers, as well as the right to acquire land, to take part in the Sejms, etc. The aristocratic representatives of the reform party entered themselves in the burghers' registers.

Now the Sejm turned to a fundamental and revolutionary step. Exploiting the fact that a large number of the opposition were absent, the memorable Constitution of May 3rd, 1791, was passed by acclamation. This introduced hereditary in place of elected monarchy, established the dynasty of the Electors of Saxony, confirmed the rights of the burghers, granted certain small reliefs to the peasantry, and put an end to the period of anarchy, by establishing the principle of executive and legislative authorities, abolishing the *liberum veto*, introducing a normal government with a Cabinet, etc. Although this Constitution was not revolutionary, coming in the days of the aspirations engendered by the French Revolution it was an expression of intelligence and political moderation, and met with the appreciation of all the western world, including Great Britain, though it was a challenge to Russia's hegemony. In fact, however, it was a bloodless *coup d'état* against the reactionary majority of the nobility and gentry, and analogous to the steps taken by Gustavus 3rd of Sweden in 1772.

Russia had now concluded her war with Turkey, and an occasion for intervening in Polish affairs was provided for her by the advocates of reaction and the former system of govern-

ment, the three magnates Potocki, Branicki and Rzewuski. These three formed an association known as the Confederation of Targowica, and, still worse, called on the initiator of this association, Russia, for armed help. In 1792 overwhelming Russian forces marched into Poland, to be met by the Polish army which was only now being formed, a very much weaker and divided force, commanded by the king's nephew, Prince Joseph Poniatowski. Prussia, which by the alliance of 1790 was under obligation to come to Poland's aid, did not keep her word. Despite Polish successes at Zielence and Dubienka, where Kosciuszko, known to Poles by his participation in the American War of Independence, won further glory, the army had to retreat before the superior Russian forces. In face of Prussia's refusal to honour her obligations and the general course of events, the king lost his nerve, and before any final decision had been reached in battle he went over to the Confederation of Targowica: in other words, he submitted to Russia. Thus all the attempts at the salvation and reform of the State went by the board, and the reactionary Confederation protected by Russian troops conquered the country. Meanwhile Prussia, behind the Confederation's backs and ignoring Austria, made an agreement with Russia for a new partition, which was carried out on January 23rd, 1793.

This partition marked the real end of Poland as an independent State. Russia took the rest of White Ruthenia, the Ukraine, Podolia, part of Polesie and Volhynia, while Prussia took Wielkopolska, *i.e.* the Poznan province, part of central Poland, *i.e.* Kujawy, and part of Mazovia with Torun and the city of Danzig. The latter town waged a bloody but ineffective defensive struggle against the Prussian troops. The remnant which was formally left to Poland did in fact consist of 254,000 square kilometres, but it did not have real independence, for even in the capital, Warsaw, a very strong Russian garrison was quartered.

But the revival of the Polish nation had gone too far for this state of affairs to continue in permanence. So almost immediately after, in 1794 an anti-Russian rising broke out in Cracow under the command of General Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

This was the first of a series of Polish risings which took place at intervals all through the 19th century. The Kosciuszko rising, which represented a progressive movement and had the support of the peasants (which previously had not been forthcoming) gained successes at Raclawice. But even more important was the fact that the burghers also rose against the occupying power, especially in the Warsaw insurrection of April 17th, 1794, when Polish troops together with the citizens led by the cobbler Kilinski, utterly defeated the larger Russian garrison and drove them out of the city. The Polish citizens of Vilno followed suit on April 23rd. Meanwhile, the Prussians had come to the aid of the Russians. They even reached as far as Warsaw and laid siege to the city. The people and the army defended their capital heroically and forced the Prussian king to retreat. By then the Russians had captured Vilno. Kosciuszko himself, with only part of his army, and that part inadequate for the task, set out to repel one of the approaching Russian armies. But he was defeated at Maciejowice on October 10th, 1794, and was himself seriously wounded, being taken prisoner. The formidable Suvorov with his army was now approaching Warsaw ; he captured the suburb of Praga and slaughtered its inhabitants, and the city itself with the remnants of the Polish troops capitulated in November 1794.

There followed the third, and last partition of Poland, laid down in the treaties of January 3rd and October 24th, 1795. Prussia obtained the area west of the Pilica, the Vistula and the Bug, including Warsaw ; Austria took the triangle of land lying between the Pilica, the Vistula and the Bug ; and Russia all the land east of the Bug. The king was deported and in 1795 was forced to abdicate. He died in Petersburg in 1798.

Now Poland was governed under the duress and violence of the three partitioning powers. But at once the struggle was renewed for the recovery of independence, for the moment under the standards of revolutionary France and the rising military star of Napoleon Bonaparte.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ECLIPSE OF THE State a number of Poles, many of them new elements including burghers, gathered in revolutionary France, there to set about the creation of a new Polish army. This was the origin of the Polish Legions, organised under the command of General Henryk Dabrowski, which from 1797 onwards fought on the French side in the Napoleonic Wars.

From the beginning the legions had the support of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was then winning glory by his victories in Italy. Soon 6,000, and then 15,000 and 20,000 picked men were fighting in all the Napoleonic wars and battles down to 1801, bringing fame to the Polish standards. The names of very many Polish generals adorn the Arc de Triomphe in Paris side by side with the most famous marshals and generals of France. But for the moment Napoleon only exploited the Legionaries' devotion, and again and again he concluded peace without even mentioning Poland and the Poles. Worse still, in 1803 he sent those of the Legions who had not fallen on the field of battle to San Domingo to fight the native rising there. It is not surprising that in consequence a large number of Poles, led by Prince Adam Czartoryski, the Foreign Minister of the Russian Tsar Alexander 1st, looked to Russia for support in their aims. But when Napoleon struck at Prussia in 1806 he had the support of the majority of the Poles, though Kosciuszko, who, after his release from a Russian prison, had received an enthusiastic welcome in Sweden, was sceptical in his attitude to Napoleon.

Napoleon and the Legions quickly entered Poznan and Warsaw. A Polish army commanded by Prince Joseph Poniatowski was formed, but the Peace of Tilsit in the same year 1807 led to the formation of only a small State, known as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with the King of Saxony ruling as Grand Duke.

In the new duchy the Poles displayed extraordinary organizing and military capacities, though Napoleon's demands

financially exhausted the country. The little duchy had to provide him with help even in his Spanish war, where the Poles were heroically to the forefront, especially in the famous charge at Somosierra and in the capture of Saragossa. When a new war broke out in 1809 between Napoleon and Austria, the Polish troops led by Prince Poniatowski first fought a battle at Raszyn, then penetrated into Galicia, where all the Poles linked up with the duchy and created a dangerous diversion in the rear of the Austrian army. At the Peace of Vienna the Grand Duchy was given all western Galicia, including Cracow, the total area amounting to 50,000 square kilometres.

But all the Polish hopes were revived when Napoleon waged war on Russia in 1812. The little duchy supplied an army of 80,000, but Napoleon split it up among French corps, the only exception being the corps led by Poniatowski. The Poles fought brilliantly at Smolensk, Borodino, and during the famous retreat from Moscow, Napoleon himself admitted that they displayed greater powers of endurance than the French, and they sacrificially covered the retreat of Napoleon's enormous army.

A turning point now arrived in Polish fortunes. Alexander 1st and Russia endeavoured by all ways and means to win over the rest of the Polish forces to their side. But Prince Poniatowski settled the question with the remark that "one does not trade with honour," deciding to follow Napoleon in the days of defeat as in the days of victory. In the 1813 campaign and the famous Battle of Leipzig the Westphalians, Saxons, Bavarians and Wurttemburgers all deserted Napoleon one after another, but the Poles, numbering some 40,000, carried out the hardest tasks, and on the field of battle at Leipzig Poniatowski was promoted to be a marshal of France. Once more the Poles protected the retreat of the defeated Napoleon, and their leader, Poniatowski, perished at Estere. By the terms of their agreement they were now to return to their country, but once more they decided to follow the defeated leader to the end. They fought in all the later battles, saved Napoleon's life at Arcis sur Aube, and only after his abdication at Fontainebleau did they return, on his order, to their homeland with the body of their commander. They won the admiration of all their opponents, and in the 19th

Article of the Peace of Paris, signed in 1814, they were granted all honours and respect, and their return home in army formation, "in recognition of their glorious service."

The Napoleonic epic, ending in military disaster, brought the Poles only the fame of incomparable soldiers. Owing to the disputes and trafficking which went on among the States represented at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Poland was not restored to independence, and so the result is known as the "fourth" partition of Poland. But a small part of the country was given separate existence as a "Kingdom of Poland" with its own government, treasury and army, but linked with Russia. For Alexander 1st, the Tsar of Russia (and after him his successors) was crowned King of Poland. The Kingdom of Poland covered four-fifths of the Duchy of Warsaw, but the districts of Poznan, Pomorze with Torun, and Danzig were incorporated with Prussia, while Cracow was made an independent Republic.

This marks the true beginning of Poland's history under the partitioning powers. The area known as Galicia, under Austria, was oppressed, and Germanized by a system of reactionary rule, whereas in Prussia the government was milder. But there also it was not long before steps were taken to Germanize the Poles. On the other hand, in the Kingdom of Poland, which was a separate State with its own constitution and army, the Poles soon found it impossible for a free Poland to live in close association with the Tsarist dictatorship in Russia. Above all, the Poles were deceived in their hopes that Alexander 1st would include the Polish lands east of the Bug, with Vilno, Volhynia, etc., in the separate Kingdom of Poland. The Tsar's military representative, the Grand Duke Constantine, a brother of Alexander, was married to a Pole and was in his barbarous way well disposed to the Poles, but he was uncultured and unbridled in his conduct, and affronted both the army and the civilian population.

Meanwhile, the country was developing. A university was opened, and in the sphere of finance Lubecki worked miracles. Education advanced, industry began to spring up on a large scale, and the Kingdom's army of 30,000 Polish troops was

perhaps the finest force in Europe. None the less all the Poles continued their struggle for full freedom. Secret societies on the model of the Freemasons came into being, with revolution as their aim. This was especially the case after the death of Alexander 1st, when the greatest reactionary in Europe, Nicholas 1st, came to the Tsarist throne and became King of Poland. Now it proved impossible to continue the Polish-Russian association in its existing form.

On November 29th, 1830, young ensigns in Warsaw started a revolution, which the rest of the army soon joined. The Polish forces easily drove out the Russian troops, and Grand Duke Constantine had to flee. A new revolutionary government was set up under the presidency of Prince Adam Czartoryski. General Chlopicki assumed command, and later the dictatorship, but he was not capable of exploiting all the nation's powers, for down to the day when the parliament dethroned Nicholas as King of Poland, on January 25th, 1831, he hoped to reach an agreement with the Tsar. Furthermore, the hopes of foreign aid were disappointed. The rising certainly was watched with great sympathy by the public of France and Great Britain, but France failed to send help.

A great Polish-Russian war broke out, in which Poland could put in the field not more than 50,000 men as compared with Russia's army of 160,000. Despite a number of errors on the part of the command, all the superior qualities of the Polish soldier, fighting under standards with the ancient Polish device : "For our freedom and yours," were now revealed. The Russians suffered a number of defeats, at Stoczek, at Wawer, while the extremely sanguinary battle of Grochow near Warsaw was indecisive, though the Russians had to fall back. The war dragged on to the spring of 1831, the Poles won new victories at Wawer, Dety and Ignanie, but in the battle of Ostroleka the heroism of the men could not atone for the errors of the command. Polish forces sent to help the risings which had begun in Lithuania and Volhynia were not in sufficient strength, and they suffered defeat. The protracted struggle against superior force began to turn to the disadvantage of the Warsaw Government, which, influenced by demonstrations and the commander

Skrzynecki's dissatisfaction, came under radical pressure. The last chief of the Government, General Krukowiecki, surrendered Warsaw when the Russian storm of the suburbs was crowned with success, despite General Sowinski's heroic death in the front line. The capitulation of Warsaw marked the turning point, though the struggle dragged on. On October 4th, 1831, driven back by superior force, the remnants of the Polish army, with the government and many leading politicians, crossed the frontier of Prussia, and were disarmed.

So once more the liberated part of Poland had gone down in blood, and a bloody reaction set in throughout the country, but especially in the newly-conquered Kingdom, which was governed by the victorious Russian commander, Paskiewicz. The Poles were deprived of their constitutional rights, all the achievements of the Kingdom were nullified by confiscations and severe sentences, the material and cultural gains in the form of movable property were carried off to Russia, and even parts of the population were deported. The police rule over the Poles in Austria was equally harsh, though not so brutal and barbarous in its methods, while in Prussia the system of colonizing Poland with Germans and oppressing the Polish higher classes was continued under Governor Flottwell.

Meanwhile, all the finest representatives of Polish culture and military valour had gone abroad, in the "Great Polish Emigration." Its spiritual leader, Prince Adam Czartoryski, first settled in London, but later transferred to Paris, which became the centre of Polish revolutionary movements. Here the Poles were split into a more right-wing trend under Czartoryski, and the extremely democratic and revolutionary Democratic Association. Czartoryski, who almost turned the famous Hotel Lambert in Paris into a Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, counted more on the effects of diplomacy and the support of the French and British Governments, whereas the left wing and democrats counted only on revolution, again and again starting unsuccessful attempts at risings. Now Poles took active, and mainly military part in all the revolutionary movements of contemporary Europe, creating almost a type of "Pole as everlasting revolutionary." These Polish aspirations for

freedom won the sympathy of many fine minds in Europe ; in England, for instance, their great supporter was Lord Dudley Stuart, who in 1855 worked in Sweden also for the Polish cause.

Moreover, genuinely revolutionary days were approaching. Already in 1846 a rising had broken out in the western part of Galicia, incorporated with Austria, which had independent Cracow as its base. For Austria was oppressing Galicia not only militarily, but also through a shameful instigation of the rural inhabitants to murder the gentry living in the neighbourhood of Tarnow. Meanwhile, the famous "Spring of the Peoples" of 1848 was imminent. A revolution broke out in Prussia on March 18th, 1848, and the King of Prussia, Frederick William 4th, was forced to do honour to Polish revolutionaries released from prison, who passed him as he stood in the Unter den Linden, in Berlin itself. But the reaction soon triumphed in Germany, and it turned against the Poles in Poznan, who had taken over the administration and had formed an insurgent army. The Germans first brought about a demobilization of part of the Polish forces by a fraudulent agreement, then struck at the Poles. Though the Poles gained successes at Ksiaz and Miloslaw, the insurgent commander, Mieroslawski, had to capitulate at Wrzesnia, owing to the enemy superiority in numbers.

At the same time, in connection with the revolution which had broken out in Vienna, new serious disturbances had begun in the Austrian-held section of Poland. But after the Austrians had bombarded Cracow and Lwow they gained the ascendancy, especially as the Vienna revolution died out. So the Poles supported the Hungarians' rising against Austria ; General Dembinski even became the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian forces, and General Bem won a number of victories. But the leader of reaction in the Europe of the time, Nicholas 1st, went to Austria's help, advancing into Hungary, and crushed the revolutionary movement.

The Kingdom was in a state of exhaustion, and made no attempt at revolution, while the blackest of reaction dominated central and eastern Europe. Yet Polish hopes soon revived, on the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, and were encouraged

by the support of France and Great Britain. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, on March 5th, 1855, demanded the restoration of the Congress Kingdom of 1815. And steps were at once taken to reorganize a Polish army. The nuclei were formed in the Polish detachments under Chaikovski, and in addition Czartoryski influenced the British Government to form a Polish division under British command. But before this division could set out for the field of battle the war ended in 1856, with not a word about Poland.

At home, and especially in the Kingdom, revolutionary tendencies were growing, and with them plans for a new rising. It was reckoned that France and Britain would give support, if only by bringing diplomatic pressure to bear for at least the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland. During the reign of Tsar Alexander 2nd the Kingdom area began to experience a certain alleviation of oppression, owing to the policies pursued by Wielopolski, a vigorous politician who believed in co-operation with the Russian Government. In 1862 Wielopolski even became the head of the civil authorities, and was the cause of the reopening of the University in Warsaw, under the name of the "Central School." But all these measures failed to counter-vail the progress of revolutionary tendencies, especially those of the left, known as "Reds." These were organized in numerous underground organizations, which in 1862 threw up a kind of secret national government, the Central National Committee.

In the attempt to stop all these trends and revolutionary moves, Wielopolski himself was responsible for the illegal conscription of young Poles into the Russian army ; this directly led to the outbreak of the Polish insurrection on January 22nd, 1863, which to begin with was supported only by the "Reds." The 1863 insurrection was one of the most bitter and bloody risings Poland's history records.

The rising, unprepared and without sufficient arms, was made by a force of barely 10,000 men at first, yet it developed with tremendous impetus and tied up a Russian army which from the beginning numbered 90,000 men. The entire movement was directed by a secret "Provisional National Government," which at first represented only the "Reds." But later,

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on May 10th, 1863, the "Whites" or right wing groups, also joined the movement. The "Whites" represented the wealthy landowners and urban inhabitants, groups which joined in the struggle because they hoped for diplomatic intervention on the part of the European States. In fact Great Britain, France and Austria, all intervened diplomatically, but their representations were irresolute and feeble, and England alone reminded Russia of the obligations she had entered into in 1815. This note was followed by a second in more categorical terms (June 17th and 18th, 1863), but in the meantime Russia, having entered into a military convention with Prussia, where Bismarck was standing for the principle of anti-Polish association with Russia, flatly rejected all intervention on the part of the Western States. On the other hand, with one accord the Poles rejected the amnesty which Russia announced after the first note of the Western States.

The insurrection, encouraged by continual hopes of aid from the west, and especially encouraged by Napoleon 3rd himself, continued with extraordinary strength throughout the year, and broke down finally only after the members of the secret National Government and Traugutt, the dictator and organizer of the insurrection, had been arrested. The end of the rising has to be dated August 5th, 1864, the day when Traugutt and five members of the National Government were hanged in Warsaw. During the eighteen months it lasted the Poles fought several hundred battles and clashes with the Russian troops, defeating them time after time (especially under the temporary dictator Langiewicz), only to be crushed by the numerical superiority, better equipment and especially the artillery of the Russian forces. This desperate struggle was waged not only in the Congress Kingdom, but was particularly sanguinary in Lithuania, where the Russian governor Muraviev was infamous for his brutalities, and in White Ruthenia, Polesie, Volhynia, Podolia and even in Inflanta, *i.e.* Latvia. The bitter and protracted struggle of an entire nation against the Russian tyranny with its massacres, hangings and exiles to Siberia greatly devastated the whole country, and after the defeat of the insurrection it had a marked effect in the direction of modifying Polish internal policy.

The tragic results of the 1863 insurrection were an unprecedented devastation and exhaustion of Poland and the enfeeblement of the nation by Tsarist repressive measures. In consequence, the Poles abandoned for a time their plans and preparations for an incessant open armed struggle for independence. Now a period of "organic labour," as it was called, came in the Polish political struggle. "Organic labour" meant that Polish efforts and forces were to be directed into raising the national standards of education, culture, and wellbeing, so that in all three partitioned sections of the country the Poles could win tolerable conditions of national life, postponing the struggle for an independent State until more favourable circumstances should arise. In the Russian-dominated part of Poland these new tendencies were answered by the Russian Government with even harsher repressive measures. But the most sanguinary and sternest measures were directed against the Poles in the areas of the Duchy of Lithuania and in Vilno, where the notorious Muraviev, "the Hangman," had his headquarters. In 1869 the Polish University of Warsaw was transformed into a Russian University, and the Polish language had already been forbidden in schools, not excepting elementary schools. The teaching of Polish was forbidden, and there was a great increase in illiteracy, the figure rising to 82 percent. of the total population. This in a country which only a short time before, under Polish autonomous government, had been outstanding for education and culture.

Yet the spirit of the Poles was not broken. By their own efforts, in secret instruction, the development of literature, etc., the Poles combated the Russian objects, and a further development of industry created a new social class, of factory workers, who soon advanced to the foremost ranks in the struggle for an independent Poland. Some alleviation of the harsh policies which took place at the beginning of Nicholas 2nd's reign failed to effect any serious modification in the attitude of the Polish people. And the clayfooted colossus, Tsarist Russia, began to totter when the Russo-Japanese war broke out in 1904.

The situation in the other parts of Poland developed differently. In Prussia, *i.e.* in Poznanian and Pomorze, especially

after the Prussian victory over France in 1870, a ruthless struggle was initiated against Poles and everything Polish. The Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, gave the slogan for the new intensified anti-Polish policy in his declaration in 1872 that the Poles must be exterminated (ausrotten). This struggle was intensified in all spheres by the Bismarck *Kulturkampf*, i.e. his struggle against the Catholic Church. But despite all the German efforts (especially those of the Society set up for the purpose of Germanizing Poles, known as the Hakate, despite the hundreds of millions of marks poured out for German colonization, despite the suppression of all political and national life, the Germans came up against an iron opposition on the part of the Poles of Poznań and Pomorze. All the world was indignant at the German oppressive regulations, and the case of the school in Wrzesnia, where in 1901 children were beaten for refusing to say the Lord's Prayer in German, aroused the conscience of the world, perhaps for the first time, to a realization of what German rule meant. Yet all this remained without effect. Not only were the Poles not Germanized, but because of their fecundity and national consciousness the percentage of Poles in Germany steadily increased. The national spirit was tempered, Polish economic and financial strength increased, and, most important of all, in face of the Germanization drive the Polish consciousness among the people of Prussian Silesia grew stronger and developed. For this Wladyslaw Korfanty chiefly has to be thanked.

Under the Austrians the Poles found themselves in different conditions from those prevailing under Prussia and Russia. After 1860, and especially after its defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1866, the Austrian monarchy had to change its policy towards the Poles and to abandon its former centralistic trends towards Germanization. The Austrian section of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy needed the support of the Polish deputies to the Vienna parliament, and it had to gain that support by making a number of concessions. The district called Galicia and Lodomeria, with its capital in Lwow, was granted an autonomous Sejm, and a Polish administration with Polish as the official language. The Polish University of Cracow was revived in

1870, and that of Lwow in 1873, and an Academy of Sciences was founded in Cracow. The work of administrative co-operation with Austria was undertaken chiefly by the local conservative Poles, who gave Austria a number of outstanding ministers, such as Goluchowski, Dunajewski, K. Badeni, Bilinski, who even took part in the government of all Austria. As the result the previously neglected district of Galicia progressed swiftly in intellectual rather than economic regards, and became a kind of Piedmont for the new independence movements aimed against Russia.

In addition, a new district of Poland, so to speak, came into existence overseas, in America. Many millions of Poles emigrated to the United States, Brazil (Kurytyba district), and Canada. Even before the last great war there were three million Poles in the United States, and Chicago is the largest Polish city in the world, after Warsaw. All these Polish colonies in American countries continued to take active part in the affairs of their motherland and gave particularly enthusiastic support to the movements aiming at independence.

8

THE RESTORATION OF POLAND

DESPITE THE GENERAL TENDENCY OF THE "organic labour" policy to advocate co-operation with the partitioning powers, it was not so long before new movements began, having definite tendencies of a specifically Polish nature, with independence as the main objective. For fundamentally, despite the variety of tactics advocated, all Polish groups took independence as their chief aim.

Foremost among the various movements was the strong and revolutionary working class. (In the Congress Kingdom alone the number of industrial workers increased from 64,000 in 1870 to 400,000 in 1910.) With this industrial worker basis a strong socialist movement developed, which also attracted part of the intellectual groups, who were drawn both from gentry and

from urban and rural inhabitants, including the peasants. The movement set the aim of an independent Polish State at the very head of its programme. Its intellectual patron was the scientist Limanowski, who was one of the socialist leaders. Josef Pilsudski in the nineties published the secret illegal periodical "Robotnik." While the socialist movement captured the workers, part of the intellectuals and the youth, the national movement originating in the Polish League, organized abroad in 1886 by Jez-Milkowski, captured the rest of the intellectuals, especially bourgeois circles. The landowners everywhere generally remained conservative. The national movement, headed by Poplawski and Roman Dmowski, was in 1897 transformed into the National-Democratic Party, which rapidly grew in strength. But at the same time a third, independent party, a peasant party was developing, with strong patriotic and social tendencies. It was initiated by fathers Stojalowski, Stapinski, and Bojko, and in course of time W. Witos, of the Peasant Party "Piast," became its chief leader.

Whereas the Polish Socialist Party generally returned to the revolutionary tendencies of the "Reds" of 1863, Roman Dmowski created a general Polish movement which accepted as a principle that Poland's chief enemy was not Russia, but Germany. But neither the activities of the socialists in the period of the Russian 1905 revolution, nor the political activities of the National Democratic Party, which sought to co-operate with Russia in the constitutional sphere, brought any results for the moment. The revolutionary socialist movement, which was responsible for a number of armed activities and even terroristic attacks in the Congress Kingdom area, was smashed, and moreover the Tsarist regime rejected all the Polish attempts to reach an understanding and even intensified its anti-Polish policy.

Foreseeing that a world war was on the way, Pilsudski began to prepare Polish youth for independent participation in the coming war, through riflemen's organizations, which he started in Galicia. Among his chief collaborators in this work were Wladyslaw Sikorski, Kazimierz Sosnkowski, Walery Slawek, and Marian Kukiel. This military movement spread

to other political groups and societies rather of a bourgeois nature, such as the "Sokol" organization, in which Josef Haller was active. But the progressive democratic elements worked with the socialists.

Such were the main lines of Polish political activity when the 1914-18 war broke out. During this war some 800,000 Poles were conscripted into the Russian army, and over 300,000 in each of the German and Austrian armies. This great war brought about the situation which Poles had looked for during a hundred years, for it was a war in which their two chief enemies, Tsarist Russia and Germany, were in conflict with each other. But the Poles themselves were split into two groups holding differing conceptions of Polish aims in the war. Although in principle all aimed at Polish independence, one section (the democrats, the conservatives in Galicia, the socialists and the peasant groups) wished to direct their attack primarily against Tsarist Russia, whereas the other (the Conservatives of the Kingdom, the National Democrats, and the people of Poznan generally) wanted to attack the Germans, despite the fact that at the moment Russia had promised no more than Polish autonomy. But the anti-Russian section was faced with the complication that Polish sympathies generally were with the Entente, *i.e.* with Great Britain, and, more especially, with France.

Pilsudski was the first to take positive action. At the head of a handful of riflemen, which afterwards grew into the Polish Legions, on August 6th, 1914, he crossed from Galicia into the Kingdom, and began an anti-Russian movement. But his hopes that the Poles would rise against Russia proved unfounded, though in their own Legions the Poles won the fame of being fine soldiers in dozens of battles. The other trend, headed by Dmowski, and by Paderewski in America, as a figure of world renown, could not at first take any action, despite the goodwill of France and Great Britain, because Russia would allow no intervention in Polish affairs. But when the military situation reached a point at which the Germans had occupied almost the whole of the Polish territories, the Central Powers, Austro-Hungary and Germany, promised the creation of a Kingdom of Poland. This promise, which was not formulated

in any precise terms, was made on November 5th, 1916, its object obviously being to gain a new recruit to the central camp. But the Germans' brutal and spoliatory behaviour in Poland, the fact that there was no change in the system of government in Poznań, and the fictitious nature of the rights conferred had such an effect that the plan for a Polish army fighting at the side of the Germans was a failure, especially as Pilsudski held up further enrolment for the Legions and adopted the tactic of the Polish secret military organizations, united in the "Polish Military Defence" (P.O.W.).

Meanwhile, on January 1st, 1917, President Wilson, influenced by Ignacy Paderewski, announced that the United States would stand for the creation of an independent Polish State. The outbreak of the Russian revolution, and the Provisional Government's recognition of the Poles' right to independence, announced on March 30th, 1917, untied France's and Great Britain's hands. On June 4th, 1917, the first nuclei of a Polish army in France were organized, and on July 15th, 1917, the Polish organization for fighting on the side of the Entente, the National Committee of Poland, with headquarters in Paris, was recognized by France, Great Britain, and other States as the official representative of the Polish nation. In the meantime, conditions under the German occupation were growing more and more strained, in view of the impotence of the Council of State which the Central Powers had brought into being. The majority of the Legionaries refused to take the oath of loyalty to Germany, and were disarmed and interned. On July 22nd, 1917, the leader of this opposition, Pilsudski, was himself arrested by the Germans together with his chief of staff, Colonel Sosnkowski, and imprisoned in the fortress of Magdeburg. About the same time a central Polish military committee was set up in revolutionary Russia, under the leadership of Władysław Raczkiewicz, to-day the President of Poland. This committee set to work to organize the Poles in Russia into a separate army, commanded by General Dowbor-Muśnicki. But this army was later disarmed by the Germans.

The Central Powers made further concessions in the occupied area, setting up a Regency Council with three members

(Archbishop Kakowski, Prince Z. Lubomirski and J. Ostrowski). as the vice-regent of the future king, and granting it certain educational and judicial rights in the area of the Congress Kingdom. So far Austria and the Hapsburgs had been regarded with much sympathy by a section of the Poles, because of the policy pursued in Galicia, and these Poles looked forward to a Hapsburg ascending the throne of Poland. But when Austria ceded part of the Polish areas, including Chelm, to the Provisional Ukrainian Republic by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of February 9th, 1918, the indignation felt by the entire nation effectually destroyed this political collaboration once for all. On February 16th, 1918, a brigade of Legionaries commanded by Brigadier Josef Haller revolted against Austria, broke through the Austrian front and marched into the Ukraine to link up with other Polish detachments in that area. But on May 11th they were surrounded and defeated by the Germans. However, Polish affairs, under Dmowski's and Paderewski's guidance in the National Committee, were beginning to take a favourable turn with the Entente. Among the fourteen points proclaimed by President Wilson on January 9th, 1918, was a free Polish State embracing all territories inhabited by Poles and including free access to the sea. On October 4th, 1918, the Polish National Committee, acting as a government, took over command of the Polish forces in France. General Haller, who with a number of officers had made his way to France, was placed in command of the army. But the decisive factor was that Great Britain, France and Italy had already, on June 3rd, 1918, declared one of their war aims to be a free Poland with access to the sea.

The war was drawing to its end. Austria was the first to disintegrate, and on October 31st, 1918, the Poles took over Cracow. On November 7th, 1918, left wing parties set up a provisional government of independent Poland in Lublin, in the area occupied by the Austrians. This government was outstandingly radical, and was led by the socialist Daszynski. Meanwhile, the Germans had released Pilsudski and Sosnkowski, and on November 10th they arrived in Warsaw. In face of the demoralization of the German troops through the effect of the Soldiers' Councils, forces of Legionaries stationed in Warsaw,

the secret military organization, and the civil population of the city unitedly started to disarm the strong German force. The terrified Germans surrendered everywhere to the Poles, giving up their arms, and for the first time since 1831 Warsaw was freed of a foreign occupant. The Germans themselves describe their conduct as "the greatest shame in German history." The date of the liberation of Warsaw, November 11th, 1918, afterwards became a day of national commemoration as the date of the restoration of independent Poland.

Thus on November 11th, 1918, which was also the date of the armistice on the Western front (which, however, was not known in Warsaw when the people disarmed the Germans), the Polish State came into existence again. But it at once found itself automatically involved in war. The Galician Ukrainians, who had been favoured by the Austrian authorities to the disadvantage of the Poles in the area, suddenly attacked Lwów and Eastern Galicia. But the thoroughly Polish population of Lwów at once began a desperate, bloody and victorious resistance. German troops were still making their way back westward from Soviet Russia, but they were in a state of disintegration, and as they retired they yielded ground to the Red Army. The Germans asked for an armistice with Poland, and this was concluded with General Hoffman at Kowno by the Polish plenipotentiary, Olgierd Górka. In Warsaw the State and a legal government and army were rapidly being organized. The Regency Council resigned all its titles in favour of Pilsudski on November 14th, 1918. Pilsudski called for a left-wing cabinet, led by the socialist Moraczewski, and arranged elections for a Sejm, to be held on the broadest of democratic principles. Right-wing attempts at a *coup d'état* in Warsaw were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, Paderewski had taken on the task of uniting the two groups of Warsaw and Paris, in which latter city the Polish National Committee at the moment refused to accept the *faits accomplis*. Paderewski travelled from Paris to Poznan, where a rising broke out against the Germans on December 27th, 1918. The Germans were thrown out, for the time being, from Poznan only. On January 16th, Paderewski, who had reached agreement with Pilsudski in Warsaw, formed a cabinet of

National Unity, which government was recognized by the Polish National Committee in Paris. A Sejm assembled in Warsaw, and, after proclaiming itself the supreme authority in the State, entrusted Pilsudski with the office and functions of Chief of State.

The Polish nation had passed the test not only in regard to its strength and patriotism but also in regard to political intelligence and agreement.

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POLAND RESTORED

BUT THE NEW POLISH STATE WAS AUTOMATICALLY at war not only with the Ukrainians, who had temporarily occupied Lwów, but with the Soviet State. The Red guard occupied territories left vacant by the retreating Germans, in Vilno, for instance, fighting the Polish forces and the people, who had spontaneously taken over the city and were working for union with the rest of Poland.

Lwów, however, was freed from danger on November 22nd, 1918, but Galicia was freed, after struggles with the Ukrainians, only in May 1919. Meanwhile, the Polish army, commanded by General Haller, had arrived from France. Quite unexpectedly an unfortunate dispute had also broken out with Czechoslovakia, for on January 23rd, 1919, the Czechs suddenly struck at and occupied Teschen Silesia, whose people had already voluntarily linked themselves with Poland, while arrangements had been settled peacefully on the spot before the Czech military attack occurred. This dispute was ended with an armistice. During 1919 the Polish forces recovered Vilno, part of White Ruthenia, Volhynia and Podolia, and were approaching the Ukraine. The independent government of the Ukrainian Republic was menaced by Moscow's aspirations, and changed its previous policy. On April 26th, 1920, the head of the Ukraine, Simeon Petlura, concluded an alliance with Poland, in which the Ukrainians voluntarily accepted the line of the river Zbrucz, approximately the same line as was

afterwards adopted in the Riga Treaty as the Polish-Ukrainian frontier line. Pilsudski, who, unlike the Western Powers, always and unchangingly rejected any form of collaboration with the "White Russians," such as Denikin, now called on the Poles to fight for the freedom of the Ukraine, and on May 8th the Polish forces entered Kiev, its capital, which had been occupied by the Red Army. In 1919 the Versailles Treaty had settled the questions of Poland's western frontiers, recognizing Poland's claim to Poznan and Pomorze, with a strip of coast along the Baltic. The fate of part of East Prussia and part of Upper Silesia was to be decided by plebiscites. The Versailles Treaty established a Free City for Danzig and its environs, this being a form of constitution which from the beginning was hardly viable and was unsound, for political rights were left to the League of Nations and Poland, whereas all the executive and real authority in the city was given to the Germans. From the beginning this was a hopeless situation, one which contained all the seeds of innumerable conflicts.

Now a change occurred in the situation on the eastern front. Gathering all their strength, on June 8th, 1920, the Bolsheviks opened a violent offensive both to the north and to the south, throwing back the Polish armies. The Poles had to retire from Kiev and Vilno, and to abandon the line of the Bug, and the enemy penetrated to the very suburbs of Warsaw. The Soviet command now aimed at linking up with the Germans (who at the time were manifesting strongly left-wing tendencies), as well as at capturing Warsaw itself. In this situation Poland was compelled on June 28th to recognize the Czech occupation of Teschen, though in return they received no help whatever; and despite the Polish character of the Mazovians, the plebiscite in East Prussia, held at a time when the very existence of the Polish State was threatened, went unfavourably for the Poles.

In this moment of extreme danger the entire nation rose to throw itself into an heroic struggle. A Council for National Defence was formed, with a government led by the Peasant Party leader Witos, and with the socialist Daszynski as vice-premier. Military materials began to arrive from France, who also sent a military mission headed by General Weygand to Warsaw. The

military situation growing hourly more menacing, the commander-in-chief, Pilsudski, with the assistance of his chief of staff, Rozwadowski, and despite the views of the French, decided to undertake an offensive against the Soviet forces and attack the southern flank of the army advancing on Warsaw from the river Wieprz. Meantime General Sikorski, commander of the northern army, successfully attacked superior Russian forces on the north. Between August 12th and 16th the Polish forces commanded by Pilsudski attacked from the south with extraordinary dash. This battle came to be known as the "Battle of Warsaw." The Russians were routed, and retreated hurriedly, fighting and losing further battles on the Niemen and around Lida. All their attempts to resist proved ineffectual, and even the famous Budionny cavalry, which had been operating very effectively, was shattered. Driven back on all fronts, the Soviets decided on an armistice. A preliminary peace was signed at Riga on October 12th, 1920, and a definitive peace treaty at Riga between Poland and Soviet Russia and the Ukraine on March 18th, 1921.

The Riga Treaty, which Soviet opinion recognized as a bilateral and conciliatory decision, gave Poland eastern frontiers which on the north bounded with Latvia on the Dvina, and then ran southward through Polesie and Volhynia to the river Zbrucz, which before 1914 had separated Russia from Austria. This line of demarcation meant that Poland resigned her claims to the 1772 frontier, but it gave the State contiguity with Rumania in the south and the Baltic States in the north. The Soviet troops withdrew from Vilno, the city was occupied by General Zeligowski, and by a vote of the people Vilno and its district declared in favour of union with Poland on January 8th, 1922.

There remained the outstanding question of Upper Silesia. The plebiscite held on March 20th, 1921, showed 700,000 votes cast for Germany, and 480,000 for Poland, though the Poles had a majority in a number of districts. A new Polish rising broke out in Upper Silesia later in the year, and on October 12th, 1921, the League of Nations divided the province, giving part of Silesia, with Katowice and a large part of the coal, to Poland, while the remainder, with the strongly Polish area of Opole,

went to Germany. Thus Poland at last had constitutionally-established frontiers, and became automatically a kind of barrier between Russia and Germany. This situation was strengthened by the conclusion in February 1921 of an alliance with France, and later, on March 3rd, 1921, an alliance with Rumania.

Yet a great deal of work had still to be done at home, in both the organizational and the economic spheres. The first constitution of March 17th, 1921, organized the State on the broadest of democratic principles, giving parliament full rights, while the President, who enjoyed less rights than his counterparts in France and Czechoslovakia, was left rather with functions of a representational nature. Pilsudski, who was a decided opponent of this constitution, refused to stand as candidate for the office of President, and Professor Gabriel Narutowicz, who was elected by the votes of the left wing parties and the national minorities (Ukrainians, Jews, etc.) fell a victim to a shameful act of murder. In this critical situation General Sikorski accepted the premiership and restored tranquillity. On December 20th, 1922, Stanislaw Wojciechowski, the left wing candidate, was elected President. As the result of the policy pursued by Sikorski and the Foreign Minister, Skrzynski, the Entente States recognized Poland's eastern frontiers, both in the north and along the Zbrucz. The government led by Wladyslaw Grabski put the country's finances on a normal basis, abolishing the devalorised mark and introducing the zloty as the legal currency. But there were frequent changes in the government, as the result of parliamentary crises the zloty began to decline in value, difficulties arose in regard to the question of army command, and finally the long-standing parliamentary coalition went to pieces when the socialists withdrew from it and the peasant party temporarily joined forces with the right. Pilsudski, who had withdrawn from politics some time before, now carried out a *coup d'état*, basing this step on the dissatisfaction in the army and his popularity with the military. He was supported by the socialists. On May 12th, 1926, at the head of regiments who were devoted to him, he entered Warsaw and, after three days of struggle for the city, forced the resignation of President Wojciechowski and the Witos government. By the votes

of the left wing parties and the national minorities he was elected President by the Sejm and Senate. But he refused to accept, and on May 30th Professor I. Moscicki was elected President.

The May *coup d'état* was in fact the beginning of the authoritarian government of Marshal Pilsudski, although technically he was only Minister for War (later on various occasions he took over the premiership). The zloty was stabilized, and the cabinets led by Professor Bartel during the early days of the new régime had a tendency to reach an understanding with the Sejm. But following cabinets were more authoritarian in their nature. The main political struggle centred around the constitution, for immediately after the *coup* it was changed only slightly, by conferring on the President the power to dissolve the Sejm. As the opposition struggle both in the Sejm and in the country grew more severe, its leaders, Witos, Korfanty, Lieberman and others were imprisoned in the fortress at Brzesc, being sentenced to terms of imprisonment. But later they left the country. Meanwhile, the government bloc had won a majority at elections, and on April 23rd, 1935, it passed a new constitution, by which much larger powers and responsibilities were conferred on the President. He now had the power to dissolve parliament, had the right of veto, and himself called into being a government responsible to himself as well as to parliament. During this period foreign affairs were first in the hands of August Zaleski, who continued the traditional line of rapprochement with the west and the League of Nations, and later Colonel Jozef Beck, who took his own line in seeking solutions to foreign problems. His policy was marked both by a desire to reach understanding with Germany and, unfortunately, by a lack of desire to co-operate with Czechoslovakia. Apart from the formally unsettled dispute with Lithuania over Vilno, in her foreign relations Poland was most threatened by the German activities directed to recovering Pomorze, which the Germans absurdly called the "Danzig Corridor," and by a number of difficulties which arose over Danzig. On the other hand, her relations with Russia, though chilly, were quite normal, and on July 25th, 1932, they resulted in the signing of a Pact of Non-Aggression with Soviet Russia.

After this achievement, which safeguarded Poland on the east, and in view of the evident likelihood that the Western States would not allow themselves to be drawn into any steps or preventive war against the growing danger of Hitlerite Germany, at least not over Poland, Pilsudski resorted to a diplomatic guarantee of peace on the west. On June 21st, 1934, he concluded a Pact of Non-Aggression with Germany, especially as when Hitler took power Germany had announced a policy of understanding with Poland. For that matter, at this time, before the introduction of compulsory military service, Germany did not constitute any great military threat, for the Reichswehr numbered officially 110,000, and in fact was not more than double that figure. None the less, the western powers could not bring themselves to take any determined steps against Germany's preparations for a new world war. Marshal Pilsudski died on May 12th, 1935, from cancer. All Europe took part in the country's mourning when his body was laid among the royal tombs in the crypt of the Wawel, at Cracow.

The story of this period would be incomplete if we did not stress the amazing internal development of the country from the date of state restoration, despite the fluctuations of the zloty and the hard experiences of the financial crisis of 1930—1933. Not only was the war devastation cleared, and great progress made in industry, etc., but there was a great extension of railway communications. This period was in particular one of unprecedented development and Europeanisation of the eastern, former Russian provinces, which had been greatly neglected and backward in the past before the recovery of independence. One may confidently declare that during these two decades between the wars the eastern areas were Europeanised at American speed. Both Poznan and Vilno became university cities, so adding to the university at Warsaw, restarted during the war, and the ancient universities of Cracow and Lwow. New industrial centres were created, in particular the port of Gdynia on the Baltic, which was built and opened to free Poland from the difficulties arising over Danzig, and from dependence on Germany for transit traffic. In this direction all the Polish Governments, some more, and some less, made great and fruitful efforts.

The authoritarian regime which Pilsudski established in Poland seemed to be constitutionally guaranteed in the person of President Moscicki, who in 1933 was re-elected for a term of seven years. Unfortunately, immediately after Pilsudski's death in 1935 a new electoral law dated July 8th, 1935 (now suspended) abolished the very extensive electoral rights which had existed in Poland, so distorting the constitution and in practice eliminating parliamentary control, which had been assured in the 1935 constitution. Both the right and the left wing groups of the opposition, who had been eliminated from the government, were now eliminated from the elections to parliament, and a period set in of domination by the single-party governmental group, who controlled the executive and the legislative authorities. In addition the internal equilibrium also was violated, by the peculiar position of the head of the army, Marshal Rydz Smigly, who was also the head and the protector of the government party of the O.Z.N. (Organization for National Unity). Now General Slawoj-Skladkowski became Premier, while Jozef Beck remained unbrokenly in charge of foreign policy. Beck continued in his endeavours to maintain good relations with Germany, and continued to show a decidedly unfriendly attitude to Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, in the west a shift in power relationships was going on which was to have tragic results for Poland. While all others, and especially the Western States, persisted in their amazing blindness to the possibilities in the future, on March 16th, 1935, Hitler introduced compulsory military service in Germany, thus initiating an incredibly swift and quite open reorganization of the army. On March 7th, 1936, he occupied the Rhineland without meeting any form of military resistance. Now began his violent drive southward, disturbing power relationships by the occupation and incorporation of Austria. Poland intensified her military efforts, but lack of finances and lack of political vision were obstacles to any steps to parry the approaching danger. Germany now put pressure on Czechoslovakia, and at Munich on October 29th, 1938, forced that country to surrender a large and important part of its territories, a fact which marked the end of Czechoslovakia as an

anti-German bastion. Sharing the general shortsightedness, the Polish government took the opportunity to demand the cession of two counties of Teschen Silesia, which the Czechs had occupied in 1919. But the majority of the Polish people condemned this shortsighted policy of Beck and his government, the condemnation being openly expressed by the Peasant Party and the Labour Party, who were conscious of the German menace. Poland's situation deteriorated rapidly when, on March 16th, 1939, Hitler annexed Bohemia, making it a "protectorate," while ostensibly independent Slovakia also came under the Nazi regime. Poland had lost her most important cover in the west, and the frontiers over which Germany could make a military attack had at one stroke been extended by some 440 miles.

Faced with this threat, and in view of the campaign which was opened against Poland in January 1939, the Polish government sought support especially in the power of Great Britain, who had been cynically deceived by Hitler's talk of peace. On March 31st and April 6th, 1939, declarations of mutual guarantee and support between Great Britain and Poland were made, and the definitive text of this agreement was signed on August 25th. This was one of the most outstanding and most happy facts of Polish policy, and constituted an extension of the alliance with France, which continued in force. For it was growing clearer with every day that the Germans were fully determined on war. As Poland had consistently and unchangeably refused to co-operate with Germany in the attack which Hitler was planning against Soviet Russia, the Germans now provisionally and initially demanded that Poland should permit the incorporation of Danzig in the Reich and an unrestricted transit route across Polish Pomorze. Against all international procedure Hitler denounced the Polish-German pact of non-aggression on April 28th, and took the same step in regard to the naval agreement with Great Britain. Poland's position was simple. The policy was to avoid war with Germany if possible, but not at the cost of partial, and ever-increasing territorial concessions which would ultimately lead to the country's loss of independence. Poland was for peace at the price of concessions, but not at the

price of gradual but sure enslavement. On this count the Poles were absolutely united. The world's and especially Great Britain's efforts to avert the outbreak of war, are generally known, but the German government's tactics deliberately rendered all negotiations impossible. To facilitate the attempts of Great Britain and France to save the peace, Poland even delayed her own mobilization, to her detriment. And even on August 31st, 1939, almost everybody in Poland was convinced that there was no real danger of war.

To everybody's amazement, at dawn on September 1st, 1939, all the main railway stations and air bases, and also open towns, especially Warsaw, were bombed, and the German armies struck all along Poland's frontiers—frontiers in which peacetime regulations were still in operation.

10

POLAND IN THE WAR

AS THE RESULT OF DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE, to demonstrate her desire for peace Poland had delayed her mobilization to the last moment, and so she was able to bring into action not more than a quarter of her man-power potential. But worst of all, there was an extraordinary disproportion between the two armed forces, and especially of aeroplanes and tanks, on the Polish front. To 73 infantry divisions there were 15 motorized units and 5,000 aeroplanes on the German side, whereas Poland at the outbreak of war was able to throw in only 22 mobilized infantry divisions, eight cavalry brigades, and two tank brigades, plus only 370 first line aeroplanes. Moreover, the Germans attacked unexpectedly, without declaring war and while negotiations were still proceeding, and during the first day they destroyed many aerodromes, and partially wrecked main railway stations, so undermining the process of mobilization. Yet they met with a furious resistance on the part of the Polish troops, who by their resolution often succeeded in compensating for the tragic disproportion in strength. Only after the experiences of the French

and Balkan campaigns was it fully realized how greatly the heroic resistance of the Polish army in 1939 had held the onslaught of the German might, so giving France, Great Britain and Russia valuable time to prepare for the further battles.

When Great Britain and France kept their word and entered the war on September 3rd there were enthusiastic demonstrations in Warsaw and all the other towns of Poland in honour of those who did not regard their binding obligations as scraps of paper. Unhappily, the small-scale activities which France initiated in Alsace did not draw off any German forces from Poland, nor were the air forces active on any broad, effective scale. Germany's attack on Poland had given France time to complete her mobilization, but at the moment Poland had to fight on alone, without even air aid. With their crushing superiority in tanks the Germans drove hard against the entire Polish front from the very beginning, but on September 4th they broke through that front at Czystochowa and gained the upper hand in Pomorze. Worse still, the German command used Slovakia and Slovak divisions in order to strike from the south, while simultaneously long-prepared forces struck in the north, from East Prussia. The Polish infantry made amends for their quantitative and qualitative inferiority by their heroism and resolution, and threw back the Germans again and again. In dashing attacks against tanks, which recalled the greatest exploits of the Hussars, the Polish cavalry perished, but saved their honour and standards. Yet its superiority in tanks and aviation was bound to bring success to the German forces, especially as war was being waged on three sides along a front of over 1,000 miles. September 7th and the following days were particularly serious for the Polish armies, as five huge German armies made concentric attacks, throwing in the whole of their infantry and almost the whole of their tanks and air force against Poland. German military literature and memoirs have testified that the Poles' struggle was exceptionally stubborn and heroically waged. Although his army was outflanked and then surrounded, General Kutrzeba made a successful counter-attack in the direction of Łódź between September 9th and 10th, but later, like General Thome, fought his way through in retreat

to Warsaw. General Bortnowski's army fought for every foot of Pomorze. About September 14th General Sosnkowski, who took over command of the southern front at a desperate moment, made a victorious counter-attack and threw the Germans back. Warsaw was heroically defended with troops commanded by General Rommel. All citizens, and not only Poles, but Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Jews did their duty to the State, and only the comparatively small German minority acted everywhere as traitors and diversionists. In Bydgoszcz they even carried out a long-planned revolt, in order to hinder the Polish forces. But the great battle fought at Kutno went on till September 17th, and about the 16th the Polish front began to be stabilized. While the armies at Kutno, Modlin and Warsaw were to tie up the main German forces, fresh forces were to be brought into operation on the south-east, and a counter-attack initiated. But at that moment something completely unforeseen, something of decisive consequence, happened.

Poland had a Pact of Non-Aggression with the Soviets, and relations were perfectly normal. The Soviets had reassured Poland as to the meaning of their agreement with Germany made on August 25th, 1939. Yet meanwhile Soviet forces were partially massing along a frontier of nearly nine hundred miles from the Dvina to the Dniester, and at dawn on September 17th they crossed into Polish territory. They met with no serious resistance, for there were no large concentrations of troops in these areas, and the local inhabitants even welcomed them as aid against the common enemy. The Polish Government and President, who at this time had withdrawn to the south-east of Poland, close to the Soviet and Rumanian frontiers, suddenly found themselves faced with the danger of being caught and imprisoned. In consequence, on September 17th, President Moscicki crossed with the Government into Rumania. Before he did so, in accordance with the constitution he designated the former Marshal of the Senate, Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, as his successor in the presidential office. The commander-in-chief of the Polish armed forces, Marshal Smigly Rydz, also took shelter in Rumania, together with his staff. Certain small

groups of troops also crossed the frontier, while remnants of the Polish forces fought their way through to Hungary and to Lithuania.

Even so, the Polish-German war was by no means finished, despite the opinion that is sometimes expressed on this point. For in reality Poland's armed resistance lasted five weeks.

For the honour of their arms, and to hold up the overwhelming predominance of the enemy as long as possible, the various armies went on fighting independently. The remnants of the army at Kutno continued to fight, and General Przedzimirski, acting on orders, retired from north to south, and fought a great battle with the Germans on September 23rd. General Kleeberg with a hastily-organized army waged a fight in Polesie and Volhynia as late as the fourth and fifth of October, until ammunition ran out. General fell with bayonets in their hands at the head of their commands, and small forces went on fighting even longer on their own account against the Soviet and German troops. .

Yet during those days the eyes of Poland and all Europe were turned to the outpost of Polish arms on the Hel Peninsula in the Baltic, and on Warsaw and Modlin. A handful of Polish soldiers had fought heroically at Westerplatte, in the port of Danzig, and under the command of Rear-Admiral Unrug Hel resisted an incalculably overwhelming force of fire power and men until October 2nd. Yet the most tragic and most renowned feat of heroism was performed by Warsaw, the capital of Poland. That city of one and a half million inhabitants and a comparatively small force of soldiers fought on to the end, victoriously holding up the Germans. For tanks cannot crush desperately defended blocks of flats. Day after day a rain of shells and bombs spread devastation through the city. The fight went on, and only the foreign diplomats left the town, on September 21st. Entire streets were razed to the ground, but the ruins of the suburbs still answered the German fire with fire. The soldiers and the people, and especially volunteer workers' detachments, all fought. There was a lack of water and food, but the Germans could not advance one step. On September 26th Hitler proposed for the second time that the city should

capitulate. The army commander and the heroic mayor, Starzynski, rejected the proposal. A new, unprecedented torrent of bombs and artillery fire fell on Warsaw. Two-thirds of the buildings were ruined or damaged. The squares and gardens were turned into cemeteries. At last artillery, and even rifle ammunition came to an end. On September 28th Warsaw capitulated on honourable conditions for the troops and with a guarantee of safety for the civilians who had fought. Warsaw was occupied between October 1st and 3rd. Modlin, a garrison town to the north of the capital, surrendered on September 30th.

The young Polish navy also passed its test with flying colours. Certain units made their way out of the Baltic, overcoming great difficulties, and joined up with the British Fleet. Side by side with the Allied Navies they have continued to fight all through the war, winning the greatest commendation, and even adding to their number. The heroic story of the submarine "Orzel" has become famous among all sailors. A few units took shelter in Sweden, where they were interned in accordance with international law.

Now the German and Soviet armies shared the territories of Poland between them. For the time being the Soviets transferred Vilno and the neighbourhood, in which over 70 per cent. of the population was purely Polish, to Lithuania, though later all Lithuania was itself occupied by Soviet forces. The demarcation line between the two occupying powers, however, differs from the former "Curzon line," for it ran through Plissa, and Narva, along part of the river Bug, and then along the San, so leaving areas as purely Polish as others were Ukrainian and White Ruthenian on the Soviet side. In certain districts on the Soviet side of the line 90 per cent. of the population were Polish Catholics.

The western areas under German occupation became the scene of persecutions which stupefied the whole world. The Germans resorted to mass executions and deportations, crushing everything Polish, but especially intellectuals and Polish culture, by all means. For instance, 167 professors and lecturers of the Cracow University were arrested and sent to a concentration

camp. The Germans divided the occupied area into two sections. The more westerly area, with Danzig, Gdynia, Poznan, Torun, Lodz and Katowice, was at once incorporated with the Reich, while the easterly section, with Warsaw, Lublin, and Cracow, was organized as a "Generalgouvernement," which also was later incorporated with the Reich. But these were regulative, or rather repressive administrative measures, contrary to international law, and all Poles without exception refused to recognize them. Poles everywhere turned their eyes towards and continued to recognize only the legal Polish government, which was engaged in the continuance of the war.

In the area under Soviet occupation, and especially Galicia, there was a period first of artificial Ukrainization, and then of artificial Russification. The most painful aspect of the occupation was the mass compulsory deportation of the population, chiefly Poles, but also Ukrainians, and their transference to Russia, or rather, mainly to Asia. By means of administrative compulsion elections of delegates to Soviets were organized, and these delegates, though not even their names were known to the inhabitants of the areas they represented, voted for the incorporation of the districts in the Soviets. Leaving out of account all the illegality of these elections held in a time of military occupation, it must be said that no plebiscite whatever was held among the peoples of Poland's eastern areas on the question whether they desired to belong to Poland or to the Soviets. In fact, no such question was, or could have been put before the population, since at the time of the imposed elections of delegates in October 1939 Soviet Russia did not recognize the existence of the Polish State and regarded the divisions of Polish territory between itself and Germany as definitive.

Meanwhile, the legal Polish State and Government continued their uninterrupted existence. President Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, who had been designated to that office in full accordance with the constitution, travelled to Paris, and, after taking the presidential oath, accepted the resignation of the previous government on October 30th, 1939 and entrusted General Wladyslaw Sikorski with the task of forming a new

government. This new government was organized as representative of a coalition of the four most important Polish parties, namely the Peasants' Party, the Polish Socialist Party, the National Democrats, and the Labour Party (which is a Christian social party) plus non-party representatives. The Vice-premier was first Professor Stanislaw Stronski, then General Kazimierz Sosnkowski; August Zaleski was in charge of foreign affairs, the Treasury was occupied first by A. Koc, and then by E. Strasburger, social welfare was in charge of J. Stanczyk, and internal affairs were in the hands of Professor Kot. Other offices were held by General Haller and M. Seyda. Representing as it did all the most important Polish parties from right to left, the government called itself, and was, a "Government of National Unity." As such it corresponded with the fact of the political co-operation existing among all the Polish parties at home, established secretly in Poland itself immediately after the imposition of occupation authorities. In Paris a National Council, which in composition was analogous to that of the government, was set up from representatives of all parties without exception, as a representative body taking the place of a parliament. Ignacy Paderewski, who had the deep respect of the entire nation, was elected chairman of the Council, and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the leader of the Peasants' Party, was chosen vice-chairman. After the resignation of Marshal Smigly Rydz in October 1939, General Sikorski took over the supreme command of the Polish armed forces, and he at once set to work on the highly important task of recreating a Polish army and of continuing the struggle unbrokenly against Germany.

Poles in all parts of Europe, including many of the large number of emigrants already living in France, and even in overseas countries such as America, rallied to the government in France, for the further continuance of the struggle. Four divisions and one highland brigade were swiftly organized in France, and the brigade later passed through England to take part in the fight for Narvik in Norway, there winning fresh laurels for Polish arms. At the close of the Norway campaign the brigade was transferred to France, and fought there also.

Meanwhile, the two Polish divisions already organized fought on the Maginot line, while other units were thrown into the battle before their formation into divisions. These Polish divisions won fame on the Maginot line, where they covered the retreat of the troops and the civilian population. They themselves fought their way through the German encirclement, rejecting all summons to capitulate, suffering very heavy losses, but victoriously reaching the Swiss frontier. In Switzerland they were interned, and have since been treated with the utmost consideration and with full regard for their status in international law. Other groups of Polish troops made their way to the west and south coasts of France, where they were helped by the British fleet and merchant navy to get to England, there to continue their task on new soil.

For when France broke and the Premier, Marshal Pétain, announced on June 17th, 1940, that she had capitulated, the Polish President, Government and Army decided in agreement with the National Council to continue the fight to the last man at the side of Great Britain. The President, the Government and such forces as it was possible to save with Great Britain's help, were transferred to that central pillar of the freedom of the Nations, the British Isles, where State activities and the organization of a Polish armed force were once more taken up. In the military field the work consisted primarily of developing Polish aviation, which, in the most decisive battle in world history, the Battle of Britain, shot down 14 per cent. of the total number of German machines destroyed. This victory put an end to the possibility of a German offensive against Great Britain. In the various successes of that period the renewed and enlarged Polish navy took its share. To date the Polish navy has gained the largest number and the greatest percentage of distinctions for valour of all the various allied fleets assisting the main fleets, just as the Polish merchant fleet has received the highest appreciation for its devotion and courage.

Among the Polish nation and the other nations of Central Europe, it was increasingly realized that there was a need for joint defence against German aggression, and on November 11th, 1940, the Polish Government concluded an agreement

with Czechoslovakia on the question of a future federation of the two countries, as the basis of a bloc of various nations in this area. The agreement was concluded by the Polish Government in London with the Czechoslovak National Committee, which afterwards was recognized by the other allied States as the legal government of Czechoslovakia, President Eduard Benes being at its head. The agreement of November 11th, 1940, was later successively extended in the direction of a close and voluntary union between the two States, and one can safely say that, in distinction from the oscillations of Czechoslovak policy, the attitude of the Polish Government and nation has never changed in recognition of the necessity and desirability of working for a bloc bringing Poland and Czechoslovakia together in one state union.

In tune with the work being performed by the Polish Government abroad, a secret Polish Government was set up at home in Poland. It also was composed of representatives of all the most important parties and organizations in Poland. This government, which is headed by a delegate of the Polish Government in London, acting as vice-premier of that government, also set to work to organize secret military forces, headed by the commander of the Home Army. Despite the inhuman persecutions, the Polish underground government succeeded in greatly extending its activities all over the territory of the Polish State. Further, from the very beginning it kept in close liaison with the sole existing legal government in Paris, and later in London, of which a component, executive part is in Poland. In this regard the work of organization carried out by Poles has been greater than that of any other oppressed nation in this war, not only from the aspect of the struggle against the occupying power, but also that of aid for the population, and especially for the inhumanly exterminated Jewish people.

There was a complete change in the political situation of the Polish State from the time of the German attack on Soviet Russia on June 22nd, 1941. For the situation arose that two States which since September 17th, 1939, had been in a state of war with each other now found themselves in the same anti-German camp. In consequence, on the Polish Premier's,

General Sikorski's initiative, negotiations were begun in London to alter this state of affairs, and they led to the conclusion of an agreement between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government on July 30th, 1941. This agreement was supported by the Polish political parties generally and by the people of Poland, though certain sections combated it as inadequate. In it the Soviets accepted the principle that all existing agreements between Germany and Soviet Russia in regard to the division of Polish State territory were cancelled. This was interpreted, though, as it transpired, only by the Polish side, as restoring the Polish-Soviet frontiers laid down in the Riga treaty. In addition the agreement included the Soviet promise to released interned Polish civilians and military, restored normal diplomatic relations between the two States, and provided for the organization of a Polish army in Russia, drawn from Polish civilians and military personnel.

At first the relations thus renewed developed satisfactorily, though the agreement caused a Polish cabinet crisis, which led to the resignation of General Sosnkowski, A. Zaleski, and M. Seyda. Professor Kot went as ambassador to Moscow, and the Ministry for Internal Affairs was taken over by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. Soon after relations were renewed the Polish Premier, General Sikorski, went to Soviet Russia, where, at a time when the German forces were advancing victoriously and were at the gates of Moscow, in that dark hour for Russia he ancluded an agreement for a Polish-Soviet alliance and friendly collaboration. At the same time steps were being taken to organize a Polish army on Soviet territory, altogether several divisions being formed under the command of General Anders. At first it was intended that this army should fight side by side with the Soviet forces, but owing to difficulties connected with their equipment and provisioning, the Russians took the initiative for an agreement that 70,000 Polish soldiers were to be evacuated, together with their families, to Persia. This was done, and the further organization of this army was carried on with British help. Also, Poland obtained the independent right of benefiting by the United States Lend-Lease Act.

Unfortunately, Polish-Soviet relations soon began to

deteriorate, owing to the Soviet tactic of differentiating between Polish citizens formerly inhabiting the area under German occupation and Polish citizens who had formerly inhabited the area under Soviet occupation, down to 1941. The Soviet authorities regarded the latter, especially Ukrainians and Jews, as Soviet citizens. This at once brought up the frontier problem arising from the Soviet refusal to recognize the Riga Treaty frontier as applying in the regulation of territorial issues between the two countries. As the result the Polish Embassy in Russia, temporarily situated in Kuibishev, which had developed considerable activities for helping Polish citizens, came up against more and more difficulties and disputes. The Ambassador, Professor Kot, was recalled to London as Minister for Information and Documentation in place of Professor Stronski, and M. Tadeusz Romer was appointed Ambassador to Moscow.

Meanwhile, the situation of the Poles living under German occupation was steadily worsening. One administrative change had taken place, as the three provinces of "Eastern Galicia," brought under German control, were attached to the General-Gouvernement, of which Frank was the Governor-General, with its headquarters at Cracow. The Germans were resorting to more and more harsh, repressive measures, persecuting and shooting and murdering the people, especially in Lublin province, until the figures of killed alone ran into hundreds of thousands. But worst of all, the Germans began the systematic extermination of the Jews in Poland, resorting to every possible means of wiping them out, so that over three million Jews, chiefly Polish, but also from other occupied and satellite countries, have been murdered. This extermination was most glaringly and openly revealed to the world during the liquidation of the last groups of Jews shut in the Warsaw ghetto—for not long after the beginning of the occupation the German authorities had transferred all the Jewish population to ghettos. (In passing, we may mention that never in Poland's history had the Jews been subjected to any restrictions.) When it was obvious that the Germans intended to exterminate the last 40,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, on April 18th, 1943, the Jews began a desperate armed

resistance to the German measures, continuing their resistance for nearly five weeks, compelling their persecutors to use artillery, tanks, flame-throwers, and finally to systematically burn down and blow up an entire district of the city. The Warsaw ghetto ceased to exist at the end of May 1943.

But independently of these tragic and incessant events in the area under German occupation, and apart from the reports of the numerous attacks made by representatives of the Polish underground government and movement against the most ruthlessness of the Gestapo officials, world interest in Polish affairs was concentrated chiefly on the question of Polish-Soviet relationships. In April 1943 the German Government made public the information that the bodies of some ten thousand Polish officers had been found in common graves at Katyn, near Smolensk, and stated that these men had been murdered by Soviet authorities while they were held as prisoners of war. The Soviet Government indignantly denied this charge, and ascribed the guilt for the slaughter to German authorities. As the Polish Government had persistently attempted since 1941 to obtain information concerning the fate of these officers, the Minister for National Defence, General Marjan Kukiel, asked the International Red Cross at Geneva to investigate the affair. As this was done without consultation with the Soviet Government, that Government declared it to be an unfriendly act, and on April 26th suspended diplomatic relations with Poland, and requested the Polish Ambassador and representations in Soviet Russia to leave the country.

As the Soviet Government had already shown its dislike of any federation of the Central-Eastern European States, this Polish-Soviet situation affected the relations between the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments in London. In the new circumstances the Czechoslovak Government unilaterally temporarily broke off the negotiations for federation with Poland, and later concluded a far-reaching agreement with Soviet Russia.

All these circumstances together created a very difficult situation for the Polish Government, and very great difficulties for Poland's allies and friends, Great Britain and the United

States, who justly sought above all else to maintain complete unity among the allies. At this stage Poland suffered a tragic blow, for on July 4th, 1943, the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, General Sikorski, together with his chief of staff, his daughter and various officials, lost their lives at Gibraltar as the result of an accident to the machine bringing them back from the Middle East to England. This loss was truly irreparable, for in the person of General Sikorski not only had an unusually able statesman and organizer perished, but a man who in all the allied world had won himself the position of a great and universally valued representative of the Polish nation.

General Sikorski's body was laid to rest for the time being in British soil, and on July 8th, 1943, President Raczkiewicz appointed General K. Sosnkowski as Commander-in-Chief, and two days later, on July 10th, called on Stanislaw Mikolajczyk to act as Premier and form a new government. This new government also came into being as a coalition of the four chief parties, *i.e.* the Peasants' Party, the Polish Socialist Party, the National-Democratic Party, and the Labour Party. The post of Vice-Premier was accepted by the socialist Jan Kwapiński, who also held the position of Minister for Industry and Trade ; L. Grossfeld took over the Ministry for Finance, and the former Ambassador to Moscow, Tadeusz Romer, took over the Ministry for Foreign Affairs from the Ambassador to London, Count Raczynski, who had been acting as Foreign Minister.

The National Democratic group was represented in the new cabinet by two ministers, but a large section of this party refused to support them in the government, and remained in opposition. The Peasant Party member, Banaczyk, was Minister for Home Affairs, and General Kukiel became Minister for War. The Ministry for Education was placed in charge of Father Kaczynski, of the Labour Party. The other ministers remained unchanged.

The chief endeavour of the new government, which in its declaration shortly after assuming office confirmed that it would follow the absolutely democratic line taken by the previous government, was the renewal of relations with Soviet Russia and the settlement of this difficult problem. None the less

the government took the view that all territorial changes must be postponed to the end of the war, as the initiation and confirmation of such changes was legally an attribute only of parliament. But it agreed to enter into discussions in regard to an administrative division of any territories which Soviet forces might eventually occupy. In a note dated January 15th, 1944, which British and American opinion appreciatively welcomed, the government replied along these lines to the Soviet Government's proposal to establish the Polish-Soviet frontier line approximately on the basis of the "Curzon line," thus cancelling and abandoning the Ribbentrop-Molotov demarcation line of October 1939.

However, the Soviet Government did not recognize the Polish Government's readiness to enter into discussions on the subjects at issue as a sufficient basis for proceeding, and so on February 21st, 1944, the Polish Government proposed an arrangement on the lines of joint Polish-Soviet administration in areas situated east of Lwów and Vilno, but the establishment of Polish administration in all areas west of that line, including the cities of Lwów and Vilno themselves. The note was left without answer at the time, relations were not entered into, and meanwhile the victorious Soviet forces, shattering the German attempts at resistance, began to enter the territory of the Polish State.

An organization representing Polish deportees to Soviet Russia, known as the Association of Patriots, was already functioning in Moscow, and in the circumstances outlined above the Soviet Government took the step of setting up Polish organs ready not only to collaborate with but to subordinate themselves to Soviet policy. In January 1944 a secret Polish National Council, its composition being unknown, was set up in Poland, in circumstances which rendered it impossible to decide on what, if any, Polish elements it was based. All that was known of it was that its chairman, K. Bierut, was a partisan of communism. Later, as an emanation of this National Council, a "Committee for Polish Liberation" was set up in Chelm, afterwards being transferred to Lublin. The Committee announced its existence on July 22nd, 1944, basing that existence

on a decision of the Polish National Council. On July 25th the Soviet Government recognized this Committee as a provisional administrative authority, and on July 26th it concluded an agreement with the Committee on the question of its taking over civil administration in areas west of the Curzon line, as the Soviet military administration withdrew.

This Committee of National Liberation was headed by K. Osobka-Morawski, acting as Premier, while A. Witos and W. Wasilewska were appointed vice-chairmen. The other members of the Committee, who undertook various ministerial functions, are people little known for their previous activities, apart from Drobner, Rzynowski and Sommersztein, who undertook the work of reconstruction and of help to the Jewish population.

Meanwhile, on his return from America, where he had consultations with President Roosevelt, the Polish Premier, S. Mikołajczyk, in the name of the Polish Government, gladly accepted the initiative of Great Britain in regard to a visit to Moscow, in order to have direct conversations with Premier Stalin. These conversations were held between July 31st and August 14th, 1944, in the form of conferences with Premier Stalin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov, and representatives of the Committee for Liberation, who also went to Moscow. However, these conversations did not reach any definitive or positive result, as at the moment the differences proved too profound and fundamental. Among other questions raised was that of the invalidation of the 1935 Constitution, which, if accepted, would have undermined the principle of the continuity of the Polish State and the legality of all the international acts concluded by Poland since 1935, including those with Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., and entered into by all governments deriving their existence from the terms of that constitution.

Parallel with the development and creation of a Polish Liberation Committee under the aegis of the Soviet Union the Soviet Government had begun in 1943 to organize Polish forces from the Poles left in Soviet territory. At first they consisted of a single division commanded by General Berling, but later further divisions were organized, and General Rola-Zymierski

was announced as commander-in-chief. These forces have already taken part in various military operations, and in 1944 one division was operating outside Warsaw.

However, world opinion was dominated by events of a military nature, namely the offensive in Italy and the invasion of the continent *via* Normandy. Part of the Polish forces formed in Persia and the Middle East, after leaving Russia, went to Italy, under the command of General Anders. Following the course taken by the famous Polish Legionaries of Napoleonic times the Polish troops once more entered the struggle, as part of the British Eighth Army. On May 18th, 1944, in perhaps the most sanguinary battle of the present war to date, Polish troops captured the famous Monte Cassino with the monastery, a German key position, which the Germans had declared to be a symbol of the new phase of the war. For, until the Poles heroically stormed the position, the Germans had for five months resisted all attempts to capture it. After the Polish force had been reorganized and brought up to strength again, it took part with the Eighth Army in the further Italian offensive, breaking through the German lines again and again and covering itself with glory, especially in the capture of Ancona and the struggle for the Gothic Line. Other armoured forces of the Polish army formed in Great Britain, chiefly in Scotland, took part in the bitter fighting around Caen and Falaise in Normandy. Once more the Polish soldiers passed the test with flying colours, especially around Falaise, where they cut off the retreat of the finest German forces. Since then they have shared in the liberation of Belgium, and in the invasion of occupied Holland. Meanwhile, Polish airmen were accounting for 12 per cent. of the total flying bombs shot down by pilots.

Yet Poles achieved the highest heights of heroism, and also, the deepest depths of tragedy in the rising in Warsaw, which began on August 1st, 1944, under the command of General Bor, when the Soviet forces were attacking the city's suburb of Praga. The Soviet Government had called on the Poles again and again to rise openly against the Germans, especially as the Polish underground movement had at its disposal a secret army organized in regiments and divisions,

though poorly furnished with arms and equipment. The plan to seize Warsaw by a sudden rising on August 1st was generally successful, and thousands of Polish soldiers of the underground army captured the major part of the city, except for a few fortified blocks which the Germans savagely defended. Thus the German operations against Soviet troops advancing from the east were greatly hindered. Unfortunately, the Soviet attack on Warsaw broke down for the moment, particularly in violent battles near Minsk Mazowiecki and as the result of the Germans throwing fresh forces into the struggle. Fighting with super-human heroism, the Warsaw insurgents were opposed by German predominance not only in men, but also in material. The Germans bombed the entire city from the air, and subjected it to an incessant rain of shells and to frequent tank attacks. The civilian population was murdered and persecuted mercilessly, being forced to leave the city for a concentration camp at Pruszkow, where thousands perished of hunger and disease.

Naturally, the question of help for the heroic city, and of providing General Bor's troops with weapons and ammunition, became a burning one. Despite the tremendous difficulties involved, the British Government set to work to organize this aid from Italy, sending British, South African and Polish airmen, who suffered heavy losses but succeeded in dropping some military supplies. Further British help arrived in September, but for long the American air force was unable to organize help, owing to the persistent opposition of the Soviet authorities for six weeks to allow them to use Soviet, or at least American air bases in Soviet territory. For the operations of the Soviet forces east of the city were held up, and the Soviet air force was not active over Warsaw. None the less, the heroic insurgents of Warsaw, whom Great Britain, the United States and Germany all recognized as regular combatants, went on fighting for every inch of the city, for every house. Only with difficulty did the Germans succeed in reopening their lines of communication through Warsaw, and on September 7th, after a great effort, they captured the Old Town quarter of Warsaw. After losing over 80 per cent. of their effectives in killed and seriously wounded, the rest of the Polish defenders of the Old Town

withdrew to other districts where the fight was being continued. For six weeks the struggle went on against all expectations and all probability, waged by the isolated, heroic army of Warsaw. For only in the middle of September did Soviet forces succeed in bursting into the suburb of Praga, which lies on the right bank of the Vistula, opposite the main part of the town.

Although the Soviets also now began to drop supplies by aeroplane for the defenders of Warsaw, the insurgents' situation grew more and more hopeless, despite their unprecedented heroism. The Germans systematically destroyed street after street, one block of houses after another, and in addition forced the entire civil population, which at one time had amounted to 1½ millions, to abandon the capital. Driven out by force, the civil population of Warsaw was shut away temporarily in a camp at Pruszkow, and thence was sent to camps in Germany or Southern Poland. On October 2nd, 1944, after 63 days of isolated struggle against overwhelming enemy forces, General Bor, whose real name of Komorowski was now revealed, signed armistice terms providing for the capitulation of the rest of Warsaw's insurgent army, some 24,000 in all. The German army authorities agreed to treat them as prisoners of war and sent them to P.O.W. camps in Germany.

Thus Warsaw, the great capital of a great State, ceased to exist. The deserted ruins were left without inhabitants, and served as points of the German defence line. The history of humanity knows no greater tragedy, in regard to the number of inhabitants killed and houses ruined in one town, than that of Warsaw, the most heroic city of resistance to German bestiality.

Meanwhile, in London important changes were occurring, for General K. Sosnkowski, who had been severely criticized by the foreign press, gave up the supreme command of the Polish armed forces. On September 30th Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski was appointed commander-in-chief in his place. Unfortunately, a few days later, as we have said, he was a German prisoner of war.

However, on the indefatigable initiative of Mr. Churchill, Polish-Soviet negotiations were now resumed, and a delegation headed by the Polish Premier, Mr. Mikołajczyk, again left for

Moscow. In Moscow the negotiations went on from October 10th to 22nd on the question of the Polish Government's acceptance of the Curzon Line and the organization of administration in Poland. The British Premier, Mr. Churchill, took an active and direct part in these discussions. But on his return to London Mr. Mikolajczyk did not get sufficient support for his policy from the Polish Government and parties. For he had decided to go very far in the direction of concessions to Soviet Russia, though always with the hope of saving Lwow and the Polish oilfield for Poland. (This would have meant the acceptance of what is known as the Curzon Line B.) As the majority of the Polish parties and a large proportion of the Cabinet were not prepared to support this policy, Mr. Mikolajczyk resigned the Premiership on November 24th, 1944, and his resignation with that of the rest of the Cabinet was accepted. The President of Poland, Wladyslaw Rackiewicz, entrusted the Vice-Premier, Mr. Jan Kwapinski, with the formation of a new Government, but, on his failure, the President then called on Mr. Tomasz Arciszewski to do so. Mr. Arciszewski, the chairman of the Polish Socialist Party, is an indefatigable fighter for Polish independence, and was one of the most outstanding figures in the Polish Underground Movement. He had escaped with great difficulty from Poland to London only a few months before, being then nominated by the President as his successor in the event of his resignation or death, in place of General Sosnkowski, who had been previously nominated.

Mr. Arciszewski formed a Government on November 29th, 1944, with himself as Prime Minister, and Mr. A. Tarnowski as Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. Berezowski as Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Jan Kwapinski as Minister for Trade and Industry, Professor Folkierski as Minister for Education, Professor A. Pragier as Minister for Information, Mr. Kusnierz as Minister for Justice, and Mr. Sopicki as Minister for Questions of Administration. Other ministries were taken over provisionally by the heads of the respective ministries. Mr. Arciszewski's Government was based on a coalition of the Polish Socialist Party, the Labour Party (Christian Social Party) and the National Democratic Party. From the last-named party a

group which had been in opposition to previous Governments now had its representatives in the new Government. The Government signalled its entry into office with a declaration appealing to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and then made a renewed appeal for an understanding with Soviet Russia. It further drew up a memorandum containing new proposals for solving the problem of the administration of the liberated Polish territories.

Meanwhile conditions in the area of the Polish liberated provinces under the Polish Committee of Liberation with its headquarters in Lublin were developing in the diametrically contrary direction. The Committee now proclaimed itself the Provisional Government of Poland, and was recognised as such by the Soviet Government on January 5th, 1945. Mr. B. Bierut took over the functions of acting President in Lublin, with Mr. K. Osobka-Morawski as Prime Minister, and Mr. W. Gomolka and Mr. S. Janusz as Vice-Premiers. General Rola-Zymierski continued to hold the position of Commander-in-Chief.

The year 1945, which opened with this disposition of affairs : a legal Polish Government in London, recognised by all except one of the Allied States, and a Provisional Government in Lublin, recognised by Soviet Russia, brought the tremendous and unprecedentedly successful offensive of the Soviet forces in Poland. The victorious armies of Marshals Rokossovski, Zhukov and Koniev and General Pietrov, smashing the Germans on all fronts, now began the final liberation of Poland from the German grip, successively occupying the ruins of Warsaw, then Łódz, Cracow, Katowice, and Polish Silesia, besieging Torun and Poznan, and pressing on in a broad front into German Reich territory. With the coming of 1945 it became evident that ere long all Poland would be freed from German occupation, and the hundreds of thousands of Germans who had settled in her territory were fleeing in confusion, experiencing the fate which the Polish people had suffered at the very beginning of the most brutal act of aggression in history : the German attack on Poland on September 1st, 1939.

The war had not yet ended. The fight goes on and will

go on until the unconditional surrender of the Third Reich. But for Poles its course and conclusion is a matter of the independence and rescue of their own State, in which the will of the entire nation, expressed freely and without pressure, shall be the real master and genuine ruler of the country.

In the foregoing pages we have outlined the long and eventful history of the Polish nation, the nation which sings in its national anthem : " Poland has not yet perished, so long as we live, and all that foreign might has wrested from us we shall win back with the sword."

Victor Hugo once said that the symbol of Poland was the word " independence." For that word summarises all the strivings of the Polish nation, and all who respect and recognise her independence will be her friend and ally, without regard to differences over frontiers, or wartime experiences.

II

POLISH CULTURE

WHEN POLAND ADOPTED THE ROMAN Catholic form of Christianity the step was decisive for all the future development of social culture in Eastern Europe as well as in Poland. For Poland became the most easterly centre and representative of Latin culture and the western world. This was an invariable feature of the part which Polish culture played through all the centuries ; for, whether in the 11th and 12th, or in the 19th and 20th centuries, the bounds of the Polish State and nation's influence were coterminous with the bounds of the Western and Latin world ; beyond those bounds began the East and the Byzantine world. Of course, this did not exclude the infiltration of German and Swedish influences, and from the 16th century onward these two countries carried western culture and civilization into the territory of the rising State of Russia. From the Polish State and nation the West penetrated eastward far beyond the bounds of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdiction, often through the vehicle of the Ruthenian Uniate

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Church. But always such penetrations involved a genuine Europeanization in the Western, Latin spirit, and were made by Poland and the Poles in their struggle against Byzantine influences, and often against Mongolian advances from the East.

The beginnings of Polish culture and literature were similar to those of other nations after the adoption of Christianity. Learning, literature, architecture, were all concentrated in the hands of the monks. Hence, from the turn of the 10th century we find in Poland examples of Roman architecture, the beginning of ecclesiastical writings in the chronicles, the books of the dead, and breviaries. The first ecclesiastical historian of Poland was Gallus the Anonymous, probably a Frenchman, who was writing in the year 1113. He was followed by a Pole, Kadlubek, who continued the literary chronicles in a highflown style (1223 A.D.). Apart from the development of writing and ecclesiastical architecture, which was first undertaken by the Benedictines, and then by the Cistercians, the Dominicans and Franciscans, a Slavonic element, and in particular Polish begins to find its way into literature. For instance, the oldest of all Polish words to music, the hymn "Bogurodzica" (Mother of God) ascribed to St. Adalbert (Wojciech) dates from the 13th century.

Now Gothic influences began to find their way more and more to Poland, and a new cultural factor, in the shape of the burgher class, came to complement that of the clergy. In particular one must mention the magnificent Church of St. Mary in Cracow, begun about 1226. Polish national consciousness was now taking form in Polish political and cultural life, especially as the result of struggles with the German cultural and lingual influences. These influences were combated by Polish clerics, chief among them being Jacob Swinka (c. 1285). The Polish language was winning its rights, though, as elsewhere in the world, Latin was to dominate in literature for a long time to come.

Numerous centres of culture and writing, which had been scattered during the period of Polish principalities, began to come into being during the creative period of Casimir the Great's reign. This was a period of progress in all fields, with

architecture and literature developing actively. The most outstanding representative of literature at this period was Janek of Czarnekow, whose chronicles covered the years 1370 to 1384. But the surest proof of Poland's leading cultural role in the East was the foundation of the Academy at Cracow in 1364, which, after Prague (1348) is the oldest university in Central and Eastern Europe. Gothic was predominant in architecture, and it has left its memorials in a number of churches and castles still existing to-day.

The 15th century, the period of the powerful Polish-Lithuanian State, found cultural activities entering quite a different, highly developed sphere, which was so rich in outstanding names that from now on we can mention only the most important. The Cracow Academy, which was enlarged and renewed in 1400, was the centre of these leading figures, both jurists and moralists, and astronomers such as Brudzewski. Still more important, the most valuable literary works of Jan Dlugosz (d. 1480) were written in this period. In particular his large history of Poland from its beginnings down to 1480 is the basis of our knowledge of medieval Poland. It is written in a pragmatic Catholic spirit, and is more favourable to the magnates than to the dynasties. The Cracow University continued its existence, taking a scholastic trend. In the future this was to have the effect of lessening its importance, but at the same time humanism began to exert its influence. Its first advocates in Poland were the Italian Filip Buonacorsi and the Pole Grzegorz of Sanok (d. 1477).

Meanwhile, the use of the Polish language was rapidly increasing; in the 15th century there were Polish translations of religious and juridical works (c. 1449), treatises on Polish orthography (1455), and even Polish poems on the Englishman Wycliff. Printing was first established in Poland in 1474, while one of the greatest masters of medieval wood sculpture, Wit Stwosz, was carving his altar piece in St. Mary's Church, Cracow, about 1477. The finest expression of the high intellectual standards of Poland of that time was the political treatise of Jan Ostrog (d. 1501), in which amazingly advanced views on the question of government and the position of the magnates are put forward.

With the "golden age" of the two Sigismunds, Poland emerged not only historically but culturally from the middle ages, though the spirit of those times still fettered the Cracow Academy, causing its decline, whereas all the private schools were dominated by the humanistic spirit. In architecture this is expressed in the Renaissance style. Queen Bona and many Italians, who built the Wawel, and carvers like Padovano, played a creative part in this period. The finest memorial of these times is the Sigismund chapel of the Cracow Cathedral. In the world of science we have the great reformer of the science of astronomy, the pupil of Brudzewski, Copernicus (1473—1543), whose work, "*de revolutionibus orbium celestium*," was of world importance. Historical writings in the spirit of Dlugosz were continued by Miechowit, Decius, and Wapowski, while Latin writings in the renaissance spirit had outstanding exponents in Krzycki, Dantyszek and Klemens Janicki.

But classic Polish literature had its greatest development from the time that the national language became the chief medium of expression. In this regard the Reformation which developed intensively but unequally in Poland of the 16th century proved a general spur to development both for Protestant literature and to the Catholic counter-action. So among the pioneers of the national language and the new literature are both Mikolaj Rej of Naglowice (d. 1569), who wrote rather in the spirit of the Reformation, and the greatest genius of Polish early poetry, Jan Kochanowski (d. 1584), who was a representative rather of the Catholic spirit. Among his chief writings are the "Psalms of David" and "Treny" (Threnodies) elegies written on the death of his daughter, of splendid poetic quality.

The recording of history was continued by Bielski and Kromer. Science continued to develop in all spheres, for instance, the doctor of medicine, Struz, provided medical science with a theory of the pulse. Out of the lively intellectual disputes of the 16th century juridical (Przyluski) and especially political literature came to the forefront. Political literature was dominated by Orzechowski, and especially the outstanding Frycz-Modrzewski (d. 1572), with his work, "*De emendanda Republica*" (1551). This work, which was translated into

various languages (including English), called for progressive social and political reforms in the State. But cultural life was now growingly dominated by religious debates and disputes, for at this time Poland was thrown wide open in a spirit of tolerance for all religious sects and trends. In distinction from the situation in other countries, the Catholic clerics in Poland never possessed executive power, and so Polish Catholics, such as the leading figure, Hozius, combated heresy not with the Inquisition and persecutions, but with propaganda and intellectual influences. This was most manifest during the long reign of Sigismund 3rd, when through the vigorous activities of the Jesuits and especially of the great preacher and writer, Father Piotr Skarga (d. 1612), Polish public opinion began to swing over in favour of Catholicism. This movement was aided especially by the numerous disputes and struggles among the many Protestant groups in Poland, such as the Aryans, the Czech Brothers, etc. It was also of great importance that the first, and really speaking the only translation of the Bible into Polish was made by a Jesuit, Father Wujek. Meanwhile, in literature the dominating role of poetry remained, but rhetoric was developing, with the prose works of Gornicki, Heidenstein's historical style (d. 1620), and Strykowski's chronicles, which, in accordance with actual Polish influence, extends its historical studies to Lithuania and Ruthenia.

A further aspect of this great cultural activity was the foundation, by Jan Zamoyski, of the Academy at Zamosc, and the Ruthenian Academy at Ostrorog. These, however, soon declined, for the 17th century marked the beginning of the decline of Polish literature and learning. At the beginning of this century the burgher class was still taking a lively part in Polish literature, - its representatives being Klonowicz, Szymonowicz, Zimorowicz, and others. But now one has to note a falling off in talent, though one must mention Sarbieski (d. 1640), who wrote in Latin, Piotr Kochanowski, who translated from the Italian, and the outstanding historian, Piasecki (d. 1649).

For the days of endless wars, the "flood", has arrived in Polish history, and also the long-drawn out Turkish wars waged

by Sobieski. All intellectual life was in a state of decline, education suffered more and more from the devastation and depopulation of the country, and in the intellectual world, under German influence the ancient Polish spirit of toleration for all, to which the country owed its finest political and cultural epoch, was beginning to disappear. In the literary sphere one must mention the talented Twardowski, Morsztyn (d. 1693), a representative of French influences, the satirist Opalinski, and the historian Starowolski. The very intelligent Maksymilian Fredro, who none the less defended many Polish faults, lived about now (d. 1679). On the other hand there was a development of memoirs, among which was the incomparable representative of contemporary Polish noble life, Jan Pasek (d. after 1700). The poet and historian, Kochowski, and the epic poet, Wacław Potocki, living in the times of Sobieski, must also be mentioned.

With the arrival of the Saxon dynasty darkness falls on Polish intellectual life. Literature was dominated by a freakish macaronic of Polish and Latin, and produced works not deserving of mention. History still continued in the form of memoirs, and even had its learned exponents, such as Kasper Niesiecki. But the dominant features were narrow-mindedness, a superficial bigotry, and disputes between two parties or two families, in which the main sustenance was panegyrics and pamphlets.

None the less, even in this dark age the rudiments or harbingers of revival were found, in the writings of King Stanisław Leszczyński, of the two brothers Żaluzki, the creators of an invaluable library, and in the writings of Stanisław Poniatowski, the father of the future king. But foremost among them all was Father Stanisław Konarski, the school reformer and rival of the Jesuits, the collector of laws (*Volumina Legum*) and in particular the man who initiated Poland's political reforms, as the author of the political tract, "*O skutecznym rad sposobie*" (*On the Means of Effective Counsels*, (1760—1763). In general culture and architecture Baroque had long been dominant, though there were strong German influences through the support of the Saxon kings.

The political regeneration of the Polish nation in the

reign of Stanislaw Augustus was possible only because there was a revival of culture and literature. Thanks to the work of the Education Commission, which was set up in 1773, education advanced rapidly, and it was followed by a growingly progressive literature in a pseudo-classic spirit, and by modern Polish science. First-class school primers, better than anything of their kind elsewhere in Europe, modern civilian and military schools formed a new type of Polish man. Literature was dominated by the fine poet and satirist, Ignacy Krasicki, the able Trembecki, Bohomolec, Wegierski, Kniaznin, and especially the "poet of the heart" Karpinski, and Niemcewicz with his wealth of creation. Historical science saw a general revival, thanks to Adam Naruszewicz, political literature developed in the hands of Hugo Kollontaj, a representative of new, progressive ideas. But by his influence on all political life the priest of burgher origin, Stanislaw Staszic, who continued Konarski's influence and was a very modern mind, came right to the forefront. Science also flourished, with such men as the Sniadeckis, and Poczobut, while memoirs had their representative in Kitowicz (d. 1804).

Now, too, the national Polish theatre came into existence on the grand scale (in 1765). The theatre had been born in Poland in the 16th century, but it had had a spasmodic existence as an appurtenance of court and palace life, and most of all in the Jesuit and later the Piarist schools. Now, through the work of W. Boguslawski, it reached European standards. Under a strong French influence architecture revived, and modern Warsaw with its fine Lazienki palace came into existence. All this revival in all fields was dominated by the figure of King Stanislaw Augustus Poniatowski, a patron of literature and art, who at his famous "Thursday dinners" assembled all the most brilliant minds around him. And it is just that all this period of progress in culture and art during the last quarter of the 18th century has been called the "Stanislaw epoch." for this king was chiefly responsible for the revival of Polish intellectual life.

With the downfall of the Polish State intellectual life took other forms. Literature dominated ; it not only remained

Polish, but acquired an irreconcilably patriotic and national character. In addition there was further progress in equally independent science, devoted entirely to Polish interests. The Napoleonic epoch saw the composition of the Polish National Anthem and the continuation of the activities already mentioned. New poetic talents appeared, such as K. Brodzinski, A. Malczewski, Woronicz, while science was enriched by Czacki, Bantke, and especially the first-rate lexicographer, Linde. The centre of all this knowledge and science was not so much the Warsaw University as the splendid centres of Polish life in the eastern borders, the Vilno University and the Lycée at Krzemieniec. New Societies of Friends of Science came into being, and such scientific centres as the Ossolineum in Lwów (1817). The resultant picture is of a Polish cultural life which not only continued to exist but had its most brilliant development in this period chiefly in areas beyond strictly or exclusively Polish ethnographical regions.

The tragic end of the 1830—1831 rising brought about a new phenomenon in Polish life, namely the "Great Emigration." As all Polish intellectual thought and creation were persecuted in the Congress Kingdom and Vilno, all the élite of Polish intellect went abroad, mainly to Paris. This is why the greatest geniuses of Polish literature, with Adam Mickiewicz at their head, wrote their poetry first at home, but later mainly abroad. Mickiewicz, the writer of sonnets, romantic verse novels, and a remarkable epic of Polish noble life (*Pan Tadeusz*) also became the prophet and seer of the Polish nation, in his "*Dziady*" (the Forefathers), and "*Księgi Pilgrzymstwa*" (The Books of Pilgrimage). Juliusz Slowacki, who was under Byronic influence, was a master of literature, the author of many dramas, but above all of incomparable poetic works (*Beniowski*). The third of the great trinity of poets and seers is Krasinski, a philosophic poet, and the author of two dramas, "*Nieboska Komedia*" (Undivine Comedy) and "*Irydion*," which in the light of modern times appear to be visions of the present day and its social struggles. The nation did honour to its poets, and Mickiewicz and Slowacki were laid to rest in the royal crypt of the Wawel—kings among kings.

Besides these three there were many other outstanding poets, like Norwid and Goszczynski. The entire era was one of romanticism, in distinction from the pseudo-classicism of the Stanislaw Augustus period. In the course of time this romantic poetry became a national philosophy, known as Messianism, *i.e.* the view that the Polish nation is as it were "the Christ of the nations," which innocently suffers for all humanity, in order to ransom it for the future epoch of liberty and justice.

In addition to this intellectual centre abroad, science and literature also developed at home. Under the Austrian occupation there were historians like Bielowski and Szajnocha, poets like Ujejski, Lenartowicz, and Pol. Under the Prussian occupation intellectual life was vigorous, especially in the sphere of philosophy. Poland had long had her independent philosophical minds, such as Hoene-Wronski, and now there was Libelt. Science also had its exponents working abroad and at home, especially when the Warsaw University was restarted as the "Central School."

The great trinity of poets died (Mickiewicz in 1855, Slowacki in 1849, and Krasinski in 1859), and all Polish national life and creative activity were shaken to their depths by the tragic result of the 1863 insurrection. The older writers continued to produce, and new ones came to the forefront, such as Zaleski, Fredro, the incomparable Polish writer of comedies, and the sensitive Asnyk. But, freeing itself from Messianism, Polish intellectual life came under the influence of historical science and the Cracow school, which criticised and accused the Polish past, and so came to lines of more realistic thinking. This period is known as that of "organic labour," and in literature as that of Warsaw positivism, the chief pioneer being A. Swietochowski. Now prose began to supplant poetry in the leading place, with brilliant novelists such as the fertile J. Kraszewski (d. 1887), Kaczkowski, the capable Eliza Orzeszkowa, and especially the profound thinker, Boleslaw Prus (d. 1908), one of Polish greatest novelists (*Lalka*, *Placowka*). But the famous Henryk Sienkiewicz (d. 1916) surpassed them all in influence and renown. The author of historical novels drawn both from Polish life (*Trylogia*—the Trilogy, and *Krzyzacy*—

Knights of the Cross) and from foreign life (*Quo Vadis*) was awarded the Nobel prize for literature. The theatre also was developing (T. Pawlikowski) both in its stagecraft, and in its dramatic literature (Zapolska, Paezynski, Rittner). The actress Modrzejewska won world renown.

In the field of science history was predominant with the distinguished J. Szujski (d. 1883), Father Kalinka, the educationalist Liske, and the leading Polish thinker, M. Bobrzynski (History of Poland). They represented the Cracow "historical school," which took a critical view of the internal conditions of former Poland. All the other spheres of science and philosophy—Cieszkowski must be mentioned in this connection—steadily advanced. The young people of Poland drew upon the entire European storehouse of knowledge, then returned home, there to demonstrate not only that they could equal the scientific creation of Europe (*e.g.* Rostafinski, Smoluchowski, Rozwadowski, Gumpłowicz), but in a number of cases could surpass the scientists of other nations, with such names as Maria Skłodowska-Curie.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries Polish intellectual life was drawn into new trends of thought. The "Young Poland" movement in literature stood for a sense of national state revival, which dominated Stanisław Wyspiański's poetry and dramatic writings (*Wesele*—the Wedding), and the novels of the brilliant Stanisław Żeromski (*Popioły*—The Ashes). Władysław Reymont, who was awarded a Nobel prize, wrote an epic of peasant life (*Chłopi*—the Peasants). Other novelists and writers were Strug, Przybyszewski, Sierńszewski, Berent, Kasprówicz, Staff, K. Tetmajer, etc. The study of the Polish legal and constitutional system was revived with the work of Oswald Balzer, and Askenazy initiated research into Poland's later history. In addition to the active intellectual labours which went on in Warsaw on the basis of positivism and the intellectual upliftment of the country, Polish science was also centred around the fine Academy in Cracow, which had been started in 1872, and represented all Polish science irrespective of the particular occupation from which the workers had originated. There was a galaxy of modern historians, with

Finkel, Dembinski, Kutrzeba, Stanislaw Zakrzewski, Halecki, Konopczynski, Kolankowski, Skalkowski, Professor Kot, the historian of culture, Kukiel, the historian of military science, and many others. Polish mathematics once more came to the forefront with Sierpinski as its leading exponent. Poland had a worthy representation in all the congresses, scientific and literary conferences of the world, most of them coming from the two Polish Universities in Cracow and Lwów, and, in the case of scientists, from Warsaw. Among the many great scientists one may mention Abraham, Witkowski, Zielinski, Czekanowski the physicist, Bialobrzeski the jurist, Estreicher, Tarnowski the historian of literature, Chrzanowski, Kleiner.

Despite the sufferings of the 1914-1918 war, the restoration of Polish independence and independent state life saw a continuation of achievements in Polish culture. The theatre advanced rapidly, with a number of great artists in every department. All the older generation of writers continued their work, and new ones came to the fore, the novelists Kaden-Bandrowski, Kossak-Szczucka, Goetel, Nowakowski, Nalkowska, Dabrowska, Kuncewiczowa, Parendowski. There was the writer and translator Boy-Zelenski, representative of French literary influences; the dramatist Rostworowski, the comedy-writer Nowaczynski, Grubinski, and a number of poets, Lechon, Wierzynski, Tuwim, Pawlikowska, Iwaszkiewicz, etc. Against the background of the present war's tragedy the poetic talent of Antoni Slonimski and Stanislaw Balinski has been thrown into sharp relief, in a number of works written in emigration. Other poets in exile are Rostworowski and Hemar.

12

POLISH MUSIC AND PAINTING



OUR PICTURE OF POLISH CULTURE WOULD be incomplete without mention of Polish music, which not only has avoided succumbing to foreign influences, as literature and architecture did at times, but has been based always on native Polish elements. The

Polish folk song, long collected (Kolberg collection) with its own literary and musical motifs, has existed and developed unbrokenly since the earliest days of the Slavs. Musical composition has gone on parallel with the folk influence, especially since the days of the great Mikolaj Gomulka in the 16th century. The full revival began in the 18th century with the beginnings of national opera (1778). But Polish music owes its fame in the world to the Polish composer Fryderyk Chopin (1810—1849), who was of French origin on his father's side, but was a Pole whose music is entirely Polish. Chopin made the world acquainted with Polish music in his Mazurkas and Polonaises. Later there was Stanislaw Moniuszko (d. 1872), the real creator of Polish operas (*Halka*, *Straszny Dwor*). His work was continued by Wieniawski, the young Karłowicz, and Karol Szymanowski.

Brilliant executants also spread the name of Poland over Europe and the western world, among them Sembricz-Kochanska, and in the post-war years the tenor, Jan Kiepura. The pianist and composer, Ignacy Paderewski, one of the world's musical geniuses, gained fame wherever he played, and in addition was a great Polish patriot and noble representative of his country. Among other outstanding executants must be mentioned Huberman, Hofmann, Rubinstein, and, among the youngest generation, the pianist Malcuzynski and the brilliant violinist Ida Haendel.

Polish painting and pictorial art first developed as the result of foreign influences, through the excellent medieval miniaturists, and the polychromists and portrait painters of the 16th century. Italians are most numerous and best represented in Polish painting, Dolabella in the 16th century, and Baciarelli in the 18th. But in the 18th century and the times of King Stanislaw Augustus purely Polish pictorial art began to develop in the persons of Norblin, Smuglewicz, Orlowski, and especially Michalowski. But Polish painting rose to world standards with Rodakowski, the depicter of the Polish tragedy of 1863, Artur Grotger (d. 1867), Juliusz Kossak, Siemiradzki (d. 1902). But the magnificent colourist and historical painter, Jan Matejko (d. 1893) held the same exceptional position in Polish art as

Sienkiewicz had in contemporary Polish intellectual life. The striking plastic and colour of his canvas illustrate Polish history as a whole and in its most outstanding moments.

Later names which have to be added to these forerunners are Brandt, the Gierymskis, Pochwalski, Axentowicz, Ajdukiewicz, Falat, Chelmonski, Malczewski, Weiss, Wyczolkowski, Lenz, Boznanska, and the stained glass worker, Mechofer. The great poet, Wyspianski, was also a very interesting painter.

With the restoration of Polish independence a number of artists of pre-1914 days continued their work, while, through the remarkable development of the Academies of Fine Arts, the senior Academy in Cracow and the junior in Warsaw, there was a great expansion of artistic activity. Wojciech Kossak, Sichulski, the younger Norblin, Pruszkowski, Skoczylas, Stryjenska, Witkiewicz, Topolski, and the portrait painter, T. D. Styka, all belong to both periods. The outbreak of war interrupted this branch of Polish creative life, which, with the modern carvings of Dunikowski, Kuna, Wityg, Ostrowski, Zamojski, etc., had assured Poland a leading place in Europe's artistic creation.

To-day the war, which has affected the Polish nation most of all the European peoples, has reaped a sombre harvest among this young generation of Polish artists. None the less many of them, especially writers, have been saved for Poland in emigration, while, most striking of all, others have continued in hiding, under the ground as it were of the foreign occupation, to work at the task of creative production, only part of which has been published in the illegal press. And this, despite the fact that outwardly the German occupation has succeeded in completely ruining and destroying all Polish intellectual and artistic life.

PART TWO

THE TERRITORY AND POPULATION OF POLAND

THIS STORY OF POLAND'S HISTORY AND culture must be closed by the presentation of up-to-date statistics as to her situation in 1939. We give the bare figures, only taking into consideration certain comparative factors, so that the reader can build up his own picture of the positive and negative aspects of Poland's geopolitical structure.

Obviously we must base these figures on the final, or rather the only reliable, statistics for the year 1931, and estimates for 1939, as these are the only data by which we can indicate the modifications effected during the present war, which are in the nature of temporary annexations and occupations.

In 1939, the territory of the Polish State, taking into account the two counties and strips of territory recovered from Czechoslovakia, was 389,720 square kilometres, of which the gains in 1938 were 1,086 square kilometres.

This territory of contemporary Poland—*i.e.* Poland as she was constituted during the years 1918 to 1920—comprised barely a third of the greatest geographical dimensions of the former Polish-Lithuanian State. In the time of Casimir Jagiellonczyk in 1492 this amounted to 1,115,000 square kilometres (excluding feudal lands comprising 148,000 square kilometres). In 1618 Poland comprised 1,017,000 square kilometres (exclusive of feudal lands). But before the Partitions Poland still possessed 732,500 square kilometres, so that 20th-century Poland occupied barely 53.1 per cent. of 18th-century Poland.

In this 20th-century Poland hardly 11 per cent. of the area consisted of land regained from Prussia, or from the German State, the majority of the area, 68 per cent., being land regained from Russia. Whereas before the Partitions, in the 18th century, Poland was smaller only than Russia in area among the European States, 20th-century Poland ranks sixth in area of the European States, the order being : Soviet

Russia, Germany (583,000 square kilometres with Austria and Sudetenland, but excluding Czechoslovakia), France, Spain, Sweden, and Poland. However, the territorial factor is not a decisive one. Finland, for instance, has 383,000 square kilometres, and Great Britain occupies only 245,000 square kilometres of Europe.

The truer picture of Poland's territorial situation is gained from a realization of the enormous extent of her frontier line, which altogether amounts to 5,548 kilometres. It has to be pointed out as characteristic of these frontiers that among the larger States (excluding Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Switzerland) Poland alone has a minimum sea frontier of 140 kilometres, while her land frontiers (*i.e.* without the Bay of Puck) constitute 97.5 per cent. of her total length of boundary. Before Germany's occupation of Czechoslovakia Poland's frontier with Germany amounted to exactly 1,912 kilometres, or 34.5 per cent. of the total Polish frontier. There was a radical change in this situation when in 1938 the "secure frontier" with Czechoslovakia, which previously amounted to 984 kilometres, was abolished. After the changes of 1938 and 1939 some 277 kilometres of this sector consisted of frontier with Hungary, and 707 kilometres, along both the Czech Protectorate and also the State of Slovakia, went to increase the actual and militarily important Polish-German frontier. If to this be added the 121 kilometres of Poland's frontier with the Free City of Danzig, we reach the total of 2,628 kilometres of frontier from which the Germans opened their offensive against Poland. Of this total 607 kilometres consisted of Poland's frontier with Eastern Prussia. In any case, 47.5 per cent. of Poland's frontiers were open to a direct land attack from Germany.

Next to Poland's length of frontier with Germany comes her frontier with the Soviet Union, or Russia, which amounts to 1,412 kilometres, or 25.5 per cent. of Poland's total length of frontier. The rest consists of 507 kilometres of frontier with Lithuania, 347 kilometres bordering on Rumania, and 106 kilometres bordering on Latvia. Statistical publications issued by German propaganda organs in 1937, during the existence of Czechoslovakia as a State, defined three-quarters of Poland's

frontiers as "bad." In 1939 it transpired that in reality Poland's "secure" frontiers did not amount to more than some 12-15 per cent.

In Poland's case the data which decisively indicate the strength of a State—namely, the population statistics—provide an incomparably more satisfactory picture than the territorial figures. Before the Partitions in the 18th century Poland was second only to Russia in the extent of her territory, but in size of population she was surpassed by Russia, France, Austria, and Great Britain. Territorially the Poland of those days was second in Europe, but in population she was fifth. On the other hand, 20th-century Poland occupied sixth place both territorially and in size of population.

For earlier Poland there exist hypothetical estimates of population which give the figure of approximately 1,000,000 inhabitants in the time of Casimir the Great. For the times of Stefan Batory the population of the Crown—*i.e.* Poland proper—is estimated at 3,800,000 inhabitants, a further 1,500,000 being estimated for Lithuania. In the times of the earlier Vasas the population of the Polish-Lithuanian State grew very considerably, but owing to wars, the devastation of the country and epidemics, in the second half of the 17th century there was a temporary decline in the population. Not until the times immediately preceding the Partitions—*i.e.* the year 1772—do we possess estimates more or less exact, these being arrived at both on the basis of Polish data and on later censuses of the Partitioning States in the annexed provinces. To-day the population in 1772 can be fixed with certainty at the round figure of twelve million souls. The distinguishing feature of the composition of the Polish population in those days was the, for Europe, disproportionately high percentage of nobility, consisting not only of magnates and richer landowners, but quite poor and petty nobility, economically undistinguishable from peasants. Towards the end of the Republic's separate existence the nobility can be estimated as at least 800,000, and in all probability 1,000,000. In the areas inhabited by Poles the nobility considerably exceeded 10 per cent. of the population. This phenomenon explains very many of the features of

Poland's history. A second characteristic of the composition of population in former Poland, one which with slight modification has lasted down to the present time, is the fact that it included the highest percentage of Jews to the total population in the world. This section was concentrated almost entirely in the cities and smaller towns, and supported itself almost entirely by trade and middlemen activities, and to a small extent by artisanic crafts and industry.

We turn to the present state of the population of Poland, again reminding the reader that the changes effected as the result of the war and occupation cannot be determined statistically at present. But in any case there is no doubt that there has been a weakening of the Polish element both in the east and in the west through persecutions and deportations, and of the Jewish element by its extermination in the central provinces. As a provisional estimate we may take the loss of population in Poland under German occupation as about five million souls (leaving the natural increase out of account), of which some two and half to three million are Jews. If we add the loss of at least a further million from the area formerly under Soviet occupation owing to deportations and the increase in mortality, the total loss of population to the Polish State (disregarding natural increase) was about six million souls at the beginning of 1944. This is equivalent to the total population of Sweden, territorially the fifth largest State in Europe ! To all this must be added the absolutely unprecedented material devastation of the entire country. During the war the population of Warsaw rose to $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, yet nine-tenths of the city is piled with rubble, and entire districts are complete ruins. During 1944 the losses in population mounted by the hundred thousand.

We turn to the distribution of the population of the Polish State in the year 1939. According to exact data for the end of 1938 the total population amounted to 34,875,000, and according to estimates made for 1939 it was then 35,100,000. In this regard also Poland occupies sixth place in Europe, and eleventh place among the States of the world. According to data for the end of 1936, in size of population Poland followed Soviet Russia, Germany, the United Kingdom (47,300,000),

Italy, and France (41,900,000), and far surpassed Spain (25,000,000) and Rumania (19,400,000), not to mention smaller States. This splendid demographic position also reveals one of the most important advances in population in all Europe.

For in 1921, after the creation of the new State, the population of Poland hardly amounted to 27,400,000, but ten years later, according to the 1931 census, it was already 32,348,000, and in 1939 exceeded 35,100,000. For purposes of comparison one need only point out that the growth of population in England, Wales, and Scotland in the decade 1920—1930 (a period of satisfactory increase) was only 2,022,000, while during the same period the increase in Germany was only 5,103,000, and in France 2,625,000, where during the period 1930 to 1938 it declined to an aggregate total of barely 115,000. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the extraordinarily strong natural increase in Poland, which is at an average of some 400,000 per annum, although this increase is inequitably distributed between the Eastern provinces (higher) and the Western provinces (lower), and also during the period 1922 to 1936 it undoubtedly showed a tendency to decline. For this increase, which in 1930 was still 15.5 per thousand inhabitants, fell in 1932 to 13.8 per thousand, in 1933 to 12.3 per thousand, in 1934 to 12.2, in 1935 to 12.1, in 1936 to 12.1, in 1937 to 10.9, and in 1938 to 10.7 per thousand. One need only point out that the average increase for all Europe is 7 per thousand. The comparative figures for England and Wales during the same years, 1930 to 1938, are as follows:—1926—1930, 4.4. per thousand, then annually from 1932 they are 3.3, 2.1, 3.0, 3.0, 2.7, 2.5, 3.5 per thousand. In the case of France there was an increase of 1.1 per thousand in 1934, but from 1935 onward the figures show a decrease in population which in 1938 amounted to 0.8 per thousand. In all Europe only Soviet Russia, where for that matter statistics are far from reliable, shows a general greater increase than Poland, though of recent years Holland also comes into this category.

It is characteristic that although the increase in the numbers of Greek Orthodox in Poland is slightly higher than the increase of Catholics, the increase in Catholic population is in general

normally high. For instance, in the years 1931—1935 the increase among Roman Catholics in Poland was 13.1 per thousand, of Greek-Catholics 12.5 per thousand, of the small group of Protestants 6 per thousand, and of Jews—*i.e.* those confessing the Jewish faith—only 9.5 per thousand. Owing to their comparative state of prosperity and development of medical care, the professing Jewish population in Poland had the lowest mortality of all the religious groups in Poland. In the period 1931—1935 it was 9.7 per thousand, whereas mortality among Catholics was 14.5 per thousand, among the Greek-Catholics 19.2, Orthodox, 15.2; and the same figure for Protestants. These unchallengeable figures for Jewish mortality in Poland are the best illustration of the complete lack of justification for German propaganda statements about the bad sanitary conditions among Jews in Poland, and their role as carriers of epidemics. The fact is that after the Germans had organized the Warsaw ghetto (now no longer existing), in twelve months mortality rose by 1,600 per cent., from 9.7 per thousand to 15.3 per hundred, according to statistics from Poland. Even so, it appears the Nazis considered that this unprecedented process of extermination of the Jewish people was proceeding at too slow a rate, and so in 1943 they set about the simple murder of millions of Jews. The great majority were Polish citizens, but there were many brought for this purpose from all the occupied lands in Europe. These people, including children, were exterminated by mass shootings, but even more by consignment to gas chambers.

In pre-1939 Poland the Jewish percentage of the total population was not increasing, but declining, not only as the result of emigration, but also primarily as the result of a lower birth-rate. Among confessing Jews in Poland this was barely 19.2 per thousand per annum, whereas the Roman Catholic—*i.e.* ethnographically Polish—population has a birth-rate of 27.6 per thousand.

We turn to data concerning the composition of the population in nationality and religious regards. To enable the reader to obtain an objective view, we give not only the exact statistics under the heading, declaration of nationality, in the population

census—*i.e.* the nationality statistics—but also statistics on the declaration of religion. Obviously these two sets of statistics must differ, for it can happen that many citizens declaring themselves Greek Catholics or Jewish by religion regard themselves as Polish and give Polish as their mother tongue, just as among the Evangelical group there is a very strong percentage of true and patriotic Poles. The statement erroneously or deliberately made by foreign sources to the effect that the figure for 100 per cent. Poles in the Polish State was identical with the figure of declared adherents of the Roman Catholic Church is quite false.

According to the declarations of the 1931 census, 22,281,400 citizens declared Polish to be their mother tongue, and therefore Polish as their nationality, this being 68.9 per cent. of the population. But 3,222,000 declared Ukrainian to be their mother tongue, and 1,219,600 Ruthenian. In so far as ethnography is concerned these two figures must be considered in conjunction, since the difference is more a matter of degree of national consciousness than of language. Because of this, to use the political language of to-day, the Ukrainian population for 1931 should be given as 4,441,000, or 13.8 per cent. White Russians or Ruthenians comprised 989,000, or 3.1 per cent. There were 741,000 declarations of German as the mother tongue, or 2.3 per cent. Russians numbered 138,700, and other languages 878,600, or 2.8 per cent., this figure including Lithuanians, who in Poland numbered some 93,000, and Czechs (colonists in Volhynia), some 30,000. Among the Jewish population 2,732,600, or 8.5 per cent., gave Jewish (Yiddish or Hebrew) as their national language.

Now to turn to religious statistics, also according to the last census figures, in 1931. At that time 20,670,100 people, or 64.8 per cent. of the population, declared themselves Roman Catholics, and there were 3,336,200 Greek Catholics, or 10.4 per cent., so that in 1931 Poland had an aggregate of 75.2 per cent. Catholics. There were 3,762,500 Greek Orthodox, or 11.8 per cent., 835,200 Evangelicals (*i.e.* Ruthenians, Calvinists, and United Protestant Churches), or 2.6 per cent., and 3,113,900 people confessed the Jewish faith, this being 9.8 per cent. of

the total population of Poland. Numerous other faiths account for quite small figures and aggregated barely 0.6 per cent. of the population.

To complete the picture we give the absolute and percentage figures for nationalities as they appeared according to scientific estimates in 1939. In that year there were estimated to be 24,388,000 Poles in Poland, or 69 per cent., which figures deviate only very slightly from those of 1931. Ukrainians, including those speaking Ruthenian, aggregated 4,890,000, or 13.8 per cent. ; Jews declaring Hebrew or Yiddish, 2,916,000, or 8.2 per cent. ; White Russians (Ruthenians) 1,127,000, or 3.2 per cent. ; in addition to which we must take note of the existence of 803,000 "locals"—*i.e.* people living in the province of Polesie, speaking partly White Russian, partly Ukrainian, yet not regarding themselves as belonging to either of these two nationalities, but describing themselves as "belonging to here"—*i.e.* Polesie. According to the same estimates, before the War barely 803,000 people declared themselves of German tongue, and therefore German nationality, in Poland. This figure comprised 2.3 per cent. of the total population. But this small proportion was a minority so widely distributed over the western provinces of Poland that in not one county of Poland did the Germans exceed 7—9 per cent. of the total population for that administrative area. It need only be said that because of this extremely low percentage, even in face of the very friendly attitude of the Polish authorities at this period, the Germans in Poland were unable to elect a single deputy or senator to Parliament (unlike other minorities such as the Ukrainians or Jews), and so the President of the Republic twice nominated two Germans as senators (one-fourth of the later Polish Senate was created by nomination), so as artificially to assure the Germans the political representation which they could not assure themselves owing to their small numbers and extensive distribution.

Poland never possessed areas with any high percentage of German population, just as she never possessed, and still does not possess, territories containing a Russian population. One has only to glance at any map, even those published by Soviet

Russia, to realize that the Polish State is not contiguous with, nor do any national Polish settlements border with, the settlements of the Russian population, but that Polish settlements do mingle with Ukrainian and White Russian populations. Furthermore, in 1939 the frontiers of the Polish State were contiguous only with the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics of the Soviet Union, and nowhere does Poland possess a frontier with the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics. (R.S.F.S.R.) This is an irrefutable truth, yet it is the least known and understood in Europe to-day.

Just as there is no Russian minority problem in Poland, so there is no Lithuanian problem, despite all that world propaganda has written concerning Vilno and the Vilno district. One need only adduce two figures : in the province of Vilno, inclusive of the city, 761,700 citizens declared themselves of Polish nationality, whereas only 65,300 persons declared themselves of Lithuanian nationality ; in the Bialystok province there were 845,700 Poles, and only 13,100 persons declared themselves to be Lithuanians. From the aspect of national composition there was no Lithuanian problem in Poland.

More interesting still, even if we take separately that part of the Vilno district which the Soviet Union transferred for a short time to Lithuania in 1939, estimates for August 1939 show that only 11·3 per cent. of the population was Lithuanian, while 69·2 per cent. was Polish, and 13·1 per cent. of Jewish nationality, who thus were more numerous than the Lithuanians.

On the other hand, a Jewish problem did exist in Poland, for, as we have said, Poland had the largest percentage of Jews to total population in the world, namely 9·8 per cent. according to the statistics of religion ; only Lithuania, on the other hand, had as much as 7 per cent. of Jews ; while in other countries with a large Jewish population, such as Rumania, Hungary, and Latvia, the proportion varied between 5 and 6 per cent.

Owing to emigration and the low fertility already mentioned the percentage of Jews in Poland was slowly but steadily declining. Even over the period 1931 to 1939 there was a fall of some 0·3 per cent. Obviously we are discussing the situation before the war, for the terrible persecutions to which the Jewish

population of these areas was subjected by the German authorities have undoubtedly completely changed the percentage relationship. So far as one can judge the present situation it is probable that including Jews living at present outside Poland and entitled to Polish citizenship, there will be about half a million Polish citizens of Jewish faith or nationality after this war. To round off this picture of the national and religious problem it has to be emphasized that all the national minorities in the state of Poland fulfilled their obligations from the first day of the outbreak of war, 1st September, 1939, with the exception of the German minority. The last-named not only failed to fulfil its obligations, but often even undertook subversive activity, especially on a large scale at Bydgoszcz.

The whole of the above-mentioned area and population was administered centrally through the Council of Ministers, and the Ministry for Home Affairs, which like the Government as a whole, led by the Premier, is by the 1935 Constitution responsible both to the President of Poland and to the legislative bodies, *i.e.* the Sejm and Senate. For the Polish State has always been and remained a parliamentary country with a Sejm elected by universal suffrage, and a Senate also elected, though one-fourth of its members are nominated by the President. For although the electoral law of 1935 (to-day suspended) did in fact render it difficult for the people to express their views freely and led to the opposition abstaining from elections, none the less the principle of the Government's responsibility to parliament and the fundamental rights of the parliament in territorial, financial and other matters were not affected. There was no provincial autonomy in Poland, and only the province of Silesia had its own provincial Sejm. The State was divided into sixteen provinces (*województwo*), and the city of Warsaw, which ranked as a province. The provinces were administratively divided into 264 counties (*powiat*). The counties were divided into 611 towns (including Warsaw), 3,195 rural boroughs (groups of villages in a district), which internally (except for Silesia) were composed of village communes (*gromada*) (40,533). The towns and rural boroughs had their locally autonomous governing bodies in the form of urban or rural councils, with locally elected urban or rural authorities.

To supplement this picture of the administrative State of Poland before the war we must mention the administrative conditions created by the German and Soviet occupation, carried through in September 1939. Though we must add that the demarcation lines then imposed no longer exist, if only because of later rearrangements, the inclusion of the south-eastern provinces in the "Generalgouvernement," and especially because they were based solely on Soviet-German agreements, which the Soviets themselves declared invalid in the Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30th, 1941.

The first line of demarcation between German and Soviet occupied areas was established on September 22nd, 1939, being modified on the 28th. A glance at the map shows that this line has nothing in common, nor is it identical, with the "Curzon Line." It runs from the Augustov Canal and the locality of Raczki along the frontier between Poland and Eastern Prussia to the River Pissa. From this river it runs towards the Narvii, then along the Narvii to the locality of Ostroleka along the bank of the Nurec, and then along the Bug; it turns off from the Bug to the locality of Krystynopol, and then to Sieniawa through Belzec and Cieszanow; from Sieniawa it runs along the River San as far as the Polish-Hungarian frontier (see Map 1).

By this demarcation line 188,705 square kilometres (72,866 square miles) of territory fell to German occupation, of which 752 square kilometres fell to the fictitious Slovak occupation. In this territory the total population, according to the 1931 census and calculations made by L. Grodzicki, was 20,336,000 and, according to the same writer's calculations, on August 31st, 1939, it possessed 22,140,000 inhabitants. Of the above-mentioned occupied territory the provinces of Pomorze, Poznania, part of the provinces of Warsaw, Lodz, Kielce, Cracow, and Silesia, in all 192,490 square kilometres (35,714 square miles), were proclaimed to be "incorporated with the German Reich." In this "incorporated" territory there was a population of 10,568,000. In the province of Poznania Poles constituted 92 per cent. of the total population, in Pomorze 91 per cent., and in Silesia 93 per cent. The rest of the German-occupied territory, consisting of 95,463 square kilometres and a population

of some 11,542,000, was administratively taken over by the so-called General Government of Occupied Territories, called briefly the General-gouvernement, with the seat of its central authorities not at Warsaw but in Cracow.

The Soviet occupation provisionally, *i.e.* in the years 1939—1941, embraced 201,015 square kilometres, or about 77,620 square miles. 8,336 square kilometres, with 537,000 inhabitants, including the city of Vilno, were temporarily ceded by the Soviets to Lithuania, despite the fact that the Lithuanians in these areas do not exceed 8 per cent. of the total population, whereas Poles in the "Vilno area returned to Lithuania" constitute 69.2 per cent. Needless to say, these territories were later annexed to Soviet rule, together with all the rest of Lithuania. For the territory of former Soviet-occupied Poland the 1931 census gave a population of some 12,199,000, and according to estimates for 1939, 13,199,000. Of these areas, which the Soviet authorities unjustifiably declared to be non-Polish, the part taken from Warsaw province showed a population 90 per cent. of which was pure Polish, while other provinces such as Vilno, had 59.7 per cent., Nowogrodek 52.4 per cent., Tarnopol 49.5 per cent., and Lwów province 57.7 per cent.

For purposes of comparison it is sufficient to note that, while in the German-occupied areas the purely Polish population amounted to 86.3 per cent. of the total in 1939, in the areas then occupied by the Soviets a rather different situation existed. In these areas, which are represented as White Ruthenian and Ukrainian, no nationality was in the absolute majority in 1939. But the census figures for 1931, and estimates for 1939, show that Poles had a relative majority, constituting 39.9 per cent. of the total population, while the Ukrainians in all their varieties constituted 34.5 per cent., then the Jews with 8.7 per cent., and White Ruthenians 8.3 per cent., the rest consisting of small numbers of other nationality groups. If we, for that matter unjustifiably, regard this area as a single whole, then it must be accepted as one of mixed nationalities in which the Poles have a relative majority.

Owing to the interest which this question has aroused as the result of Soviet propaganda we have gone into these figures

in some detail, though the outbreak of the German-Soviet war on June 22nd, 1941, immediately eliminated the provisional demarcation line which part of European opinion and numerous maps published at the time indicated as the division of Poland between her two neighbours. During the years 1941—1944 the German occupation authorities incorporated the three south-eastern provinces previously under Soviet occupation, *i.e.* the remainder of Lwów province, and all Tarnopol and Stanislawow provinces with the "General-gouvernement." This incorporation, which was made rather for administrative and practical reasons, was an automatic confirmation by the German occupation authorities that the area was economically and administratively inseparable from the rest of Polish territory.

The rest of the Polish territory first occupied by the Soviets and then by Germany, was either incorporated during the years 1942—1944 with Germany as "Sudostpreussen" (with Bialystok as the administrative centre) or was divided between the Reichskommissariat Ostland and Reichskommissariat Ukraine by a line running north of the River Pripet. Of course all these changes and decisions were of a purely provisional character, and have no meaning to-day. They will have the same purely temporary significance in history as the various German and Austrian demarcations, or the so-called "Oberost" had in the last war. The frontiers established between the Reich and Soviet Russia have gone by the board, have proved to be purely provisional demarcation lines, just as later lines of occupation or administrative demarcation will not survive. The legal Polish Government stands for the postponement of territorial issues to the end of the war, though in the general interests of the Allies it inclines towards agreements with the U.S.S.R. on an administrative and provisional division of areas until the issues are settled.

POLAND'S ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POSITION

TO CONVEY A TRUE IDEA OF POLAND'S economic strength we do not give hypothetical estimates of the national capital, but a precisely determined valuation of her share in the world's agricultural, mining, and industrial production as these were calculated in the year 1929. According to these calculations the value of Polish production, Poland being an agricultural rather than an industrial country, amounted to 19 milliard zlotys, whereas the comparative production of the United Kingdom was 82 milliards, of Germany 115 milliards, of France 76 milliards, and of Italy 35 milliards. After Poland came Spain with 17 milliards, Rumania with 11 milliards, and Hungary with 7 milliards. But while this figure places Poland in a high position among European countries, her production appears in a less favourable light when reckoned per head of population. For in that case the Polish figure is barely 0.61, whereas in Germany the comparative figure was 1.76, in the United Kingdom 1.77, in France 1.83, in the United States 3.71, and in Canada even 3.87. In this regard Poland is also surpassed by Italy, Hungary, and Spain, and only Rumania, Portugal, and other Balkan countries show a lower *per capita* production.

Agriculture

This state of affairs derives from the agricultural character of the Polish State, the Western and Central areas of which have a certain level of industrialisation, while the Eastern areas in their entirety, and the rest preponderantly, are agricultural. The agricultural character of Poland is best exemplified by comparative statistics. In Poland, according to the 1931 census, 60.9 per cent. of the population was engaged in or lived by agriculture, whereas in Germany the figure was barely 20.9 per cent., and in Switzerland 22.7 per cent. In Bulgaria and Soviet Russia, on the other hand, according to 1926 estimates, 74.6 per cent. and even 77.6 per cent. of the population lived by agriculture.

Taking other professions, 19.4 per cent. of the active and

passive population was professionally employed in industry and mining, 6.1 per cent. in trade, 3.6 per cent. in communications and transport, 2.2 per cent. in public services (including religious ministration), 1.4 per cent. in domestic service, 1.1 per cent. in education, 0.9 per cent. in medical and social welfare work, and 3.3 per cent. in other professions or trades.

This picture of Poland's agricultural character is complemented by the rural character of the population of the State. For according to the 1931 census only 27.2 per cent. of the total population was urban, and barely 10.6 per cent. of these were in towns of over 100,000 inhabitants. So the process of urbanisation has not gone very far in Poland. On the other hand, the Polish rural areas are if anything over-populated.

According to estimates relating to the end of 1939 there were 90.7 inhabitants per square kilometre in Poland; in other words she was among countries with an average density of population lower than that of Germany, where there are 139 inhabitants to a square kilometre, and obviously lower than that of the United Kingdom, where there are 193 persons to the square kilometre, not to speak of Belgium or Holland. But Poland is more densely populated than France, which has barely 76 persons to the square kilometre. Yugoslavia has 61, Rumania 66, and Spain barely 50 inhabitants to the square kilometre. Therefore, taking into account the various figures for social income, the number of the agricultural population, and the density of population, we realize the fact which even Nazi science (in *Polen und seine Wirtschaft*: Königsberg, 1937) has emphasized that Poland is a country over-populated in respect of labour power, this being well known as a cause of Polish emigration. In face of this fact, the German drive to colonize Poland and to transplant population from a country with a shortage of labour power to a country saturated in this regard appears even more extraordinary.

In view of this situation one of Poland's most important problems is that of the distribution of agricultural land and provision for the landless peasants. Although, according to 1921 estimates, small peasant farms (smaller than twenty hectares) constituted 96.7 per cent. of the total number of

holdings, barely 62.5 per cent. of the total agricultural land fell to these small holdings. Large landed properties (over 50 hectares) accounted for 36.5 per cent. of the total agricultural area. In order to level up and distribute land among the smallholder peasants, during the years 1919 to 1938, 2,654,800 hectares of land previously held in large landed properties passed into the hands of 734,100 smallholders. This process was in course of energetic development down to the last moment by means of the agricultural reform, and also through voluntary parcellation. To give a fair idea of the Polish effort in this direction one need only say that before the 1914—1918 war, in the very similar agricultural country of Hungary 1,280,000 families occupied barely 6 per cent. of the land, while 32 per cent. of the land belonged to 4,000 families. In Hungary this condition of affairs has not since changed much for the better. There are still many weaknesses in the agricultural distribution of Poland, but the attempts to correct these are not to be denied. But to-day all the important political groups are decided on the abolition of the rest of the large landed estates, save that forests, model and educational farms and seed-grain farms are to be considered separately. Undoubtedly this course will be carried through at an early date by evolutionary and not revolutionary roads, as a full agrarian reform.

The increase in area sown in Poland is an index to the general agricultural improvement. From 1929 to 1938 the area sown increased from 16,780,000 hectares to 17,629,000 hectares, and there was also an increase in the amount of crops sown: wheat from 1,792,000 tons to 2,171,900 tons, rye from 7,009,800 tons to 7,253,400 tons, and potatoes from 31,749,800 tons to 34,558,200 tons.

INDUSTRY AND MINING

IN POLISH INDUSTRY THE FIRST PLACE IS occupied by textiles, the city of Lodz, with its 1,700,000 spindles and 46,200 looms, occupying the fourteenth place among European towns devoted to this industry. The

woollen and jute industries are also highly developed. The second place is occupied by the metal and machinery industry, which is concentrated close to the Polish coalfield, but which had recently developed also in the Sandomierz district, in the Central Industrial Region, where the standards and rate of development have impressed even the Germans. In the timber industry, the sawmill output in 1935 was 946,000 cubic metres of beams and 2,364,000 cubic metres of boards. In Poland's foreign export, timber and wooden manufactures amounted to 1,731,000 tons, and comprised 12.1 per cent. of all Polish exports. A large proportion of this timber export was sent to England.

The chemical industry had developed on a large scale in Poland, especially in the sphere of nitrogenous combinations (at Chorzów and Mościce). There is also an important paper-making industry, and the printing trades industry covers all Poland's needs. The clothing industry, formerly greatly developed for exports to Russia, has not yet reached the pre-1914 level of production, but it has improved considerably; and a large industry in machine-made footwear has also been established.

Naturally the provisions industry is highly developed, having regard to the agricultural nature of the country. The 1914—1918 war largely destroyed Poland's sugar industry, but by 1923 it had been restored to the extent of seventy sugar refineries. Production increased by 50 per cent. over that of pre-1914 days, and in 1937 amounted to 824,000 tons. In regard to beet-sugar production Poland occupies the sixth place in Europe and the seventh in the world, and she accounts for 1.5 per cent. of world production. Half the output of Polish sugar is exported. The next place in the provisions industry is held by spirit distillation, which, however, is not so well developed as in pre-1914 days. On the other hand a bacon-curing industry has been developed, primarily for export to Britain. In 1929 there were twelve bacon-curing factories in Poland, and in 1935 there were thirty.

The electro-technical industry is not yet highly developed, but it is progressing rapidly. In 1928 it employed 8,000 workers, and 11,886 in 1935; in 1928 there were 1,645 electrical power stations, and 2,650 in 1936.

Other smaller branches of industry were all developing prior to the war, often as the result of intensive State aid.

This picture of Poland's industrial possibilities would not be complete without an indication of her mineral wealth and of its associated industries.

The leading place is held by the coal industry, which is concentrated mainly in the Polish coalfield stretching across three provinces—*i.e.* Silesia (the Silesian coalfield) Kielce (the Dombrova coalfield), and Cracow (the Cracow coalfield). In respect of Europe's coal resources Poland is next to Britain and Germany. But in respect of output, in 1936 Poland occupied fifth place in Europe and seventh in the world, accounting for 2·8 per cent. of world production. In 1929 this output exceeded 46 million tons, but in 1937 it amounted to only 36 million tons, as compared with the 245 million tons mined in Britain and 185 million tons mined in Germany. The chief markets for Polish coal are the Scandinavian countries and Italy, though it is also exported to several others.

Poland's second mineral production is oil, which, unfortunately, had shown a strong tendency to fall off in output. At the beginning of this century the oil output in Polish areas amounted to 3·8 per cent. of world production, but to-day, unfortunately, it is only 0·3 per cent. of world production. In 1936 it was 511,000 tons, and the same in 1937. Foreign capital, mainly French, comprises 83 per cent. of the total. The oil is refined in the country. In addition there is a considerable production of natural gas. The German authorities announced that they had succeeded in increasing the oil output in 1942—1943, but it is difficult to say whether their statement is in accordance with the facts.

Rock salt is one of the minerals which have been exploited in Poland since the 13th century. In 1937 the output was 590,000 tons, or about 1·5 per cent. of world output. But the Polish production of potassium salts amounts to 3·4 per cent. of world output.

The output of iron ore is too low, and in 1937 was barely 770,000 tons. The Polish foundries must import 60—65 per cent. of their ore from abroad, especially from Sweden. In

1937 the output of lead was 18,000 tons, or 1 per cent. of world output, but the zinc produced in 1937, amounting to 107,000 tons, put Poland in the fifth place in the world, with 6.4 per cent. of the total world production.

Other smaller mineral resources may be ignored.

COMMERCE

IF RECENT YEARS, POLAND'S TRADE TURN-over with other countries has shown a number of violent fluctuations, arising from changes in the world conjuncture and periods of crisis. In 1925 Polish foreign trade showed a debit balance of 657 million zlotys, whereas in 1931 it showed a credit balance of 411 million zlotys. This credit fell, until in 1937 there was again a debit balance of 59 million zlotys, and in 1938 the debit balance rose to 115 millions. In this regard Poland finds herself in a difficult economic situation, as in 1938 the total Polish imports were valued at 1,300 million zlotys as compared with 22,100 million for British imports, while in the same year Polish exports amounted to some 1,200 million zlotys as compared with the 12,100 millions of British exports. Moreover, as is well known, there is a vast difference between Britain's trade balance and her foreign payments balance.

Of recent years, Poland's trade relations with abroad had one characteristic feature, namely a decline in trade relationships with Germany, parallel with a strengthening of trade relationships with Britain. By way of example, in 1928 Poland's imports from Germany, including Austria, were valued at 1,124 million zlotys, and exports 1,170 million zlotys; but in 1935 the figures had fallen to 165 million zlotys for imports and 199 millions for exports; in 1938 the imports, at some 300 millions roughly, balanced exports at 286 million zlotys. Imports from Britain took a different course, although of course they depended on the market conjuncture and Polish possibilities. In 1928 they amounted to 313 million zlotys, in 1937 only 149 millions, and to 148 millions in 1938. None the less, in the year 1926,

for instance, imports from Britain were on a level with those from Germany and comprised over 14 per cent. of Polish imports, whereas France accounted for only 4.3 per cent. of Polish imports. But in general Polish exports to Britain were maintained within the limits of 200 to 300 million zlotys per annum, and in 1936, at 220 million zlotys, exports to Britain occupied the leading place in Polish export, being 21.6 per cent. of the total exports. In 1938 exports to Britain amounted to 215 million zlotys, and Germany was able to rival this figure only through the inclusion of Austria.

In 1927 Polish foreign trade was still mainly carried on overland—*i.e.* to the extent of 67 per cent. in terms of tonnage, only 33 per cent. of the tonnage being carried by sea routes. This applied to both export and import. But of recent years there has been a big change-over to sea-borne tonnage, for in 1936 hardly 23 per cent. of Poland's foreign trade was carried overland, and 77 per cent. went *via* sea routes. At first this sea-borne trade largely passed through Gdansk, and a minimum proportion, in 1927 only 3 per cent., passed through Gdynia. But in 1936, 46 per cent. of Polish foreign trade passed through Gdynia. The development of Gdynia as a town and a port is a phenomenon comparable only to the development of certain American centres.

Some 2,000,000 people are occupied in Poland's home trade, this figure constituting, as we have said, 6.1 per cent. of the population. This home trade has considerable burdens to carry in the form of primitive methods, and of unnecessary middlemen, connected with the age-old dependence of Polish trade on the Jewish population, which was occupied mainly in petty trading. Of recent years these conditions have grown far more normal, owing to the development of co-operative activities.

Owing to the unprecedented catastrophe which has come upon the Jewish population in Poland during the war, it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the future. But in any case the Polish State and nation are firmly decided to assure the rest of the Jewish inhabitants of the country the best possible conditions of economic development and higher standards of living in the future.

It would be a mistake to give any picture of trading conditions without reference to road transport conditions. The state of the roads left by the former Partitioning Powers was not worth mentioning, and in the former Russian area of Poland it was simply scandalous. Despite the great exertions put forth in this sphere Polish roads leave much to be desired, and for every hundred square kilometres there are only 16·2 kilometres of metalled roads, whereas in England there are 125 kilometres. In face of such conditions it is natural that Poland has lagged badly behind in regard to the development of motorisation. In 1938 Poland had 41,948 mechanically-driven vehicles, as compared with Britain's 2,909,000, and Germany and Austria's 3,300,000. Poland has endeavoured to improve matters in this sphere, but undoubtedly conditions were very bad, though they largely arose from currency exigencies and the complete absence of financial support to Poland by the rest of Europe.

The Polish railroads are not equally developed throughout the country. They are good in the Western and Southern areas, but poor in the Eastern areas. 198,000 persons were employed on the railways, and the length of normal-gauge track amounted to 20,303 kilometres, this being more than in Sweden and Italy. But the Polish railways average only 5·2 kilometres of track for every 100 square kilometres, whereas there are 9·8 kilometres of track to 100 square kilometres in Britain.

Air communications and wireless were developing swiftly. One need only mention that whereas in 1925 there were only 200 wireless receivers in Poland, in 1927 there were 48,000, and at the beginning of 1939 over 1,016,500.

The task of creating a Polish merchant fleet has been in progress only during the past ten years or so. In addition to her large river fleet of 2,794 vessels, in 1930 Poland had only 25 sea-going ships of 41,000 tons gross, whereas in 1939 she possessed 71 commercial ships with 102,000 tons gross capacity. Of course these figures do not include the river craft and sea-going vessels sailing under the Gdansk flag. Among the ships touching the Polish port of Gdynia vessels sailing under the British flag occupied fourth place, after Swedish, Polish, and Danish vessels, and in tonnage surpassed the German vessels.

THE TREASURY AND FINANCES

STATISTICS AND INFORMATION ON POLAND'S State finances and currency circulation follow naturally on the foregoing picture of Poland's economic life.

The assets of the Polish State were calculated at 16,500 million zlotys in 1927, this of course ignoring historical treasures and so on. They have grown enormously since that date.

In 1928 the Polish State budget, which is reckoned from 1st April to 31st March, was : expenditure, 2,841 million zlotys ; income, 3,008 million zlotys. (One zloty was worth about one-twenty-fourth of £1.) This year, with its budget surplus of 160 millions, was a particularly happy one, but it was succeeded by a continual decline, arising from the general European crisis. The 1933—1934 budget fell to such a low level that expenditure was only 2,231 million zlotys, and receipts 1,860 million zlotys, resulting in a debit balance of 371 million zlotys. From then on there was a rise in both income and expenditure, although there was a constant debit balance. Only in 1936—1937 was it possible to achieve a budget surplus of 6 millions, while in 1938—1939 expenditure was 2,458 million zlotys and income 2,474 millions ; showing both a general budget increase and a surplus of 16 millions. The outbreak of war in the year 1939 interrupted this favourable development. In addition to public taxation, State monopolies, especially of tobacco and spirit, contribute extensively to the State income.

Besides the budget a second factor which perhaps even more clearly characterises the course of Polish finances of recent years, is the National Debt, which displays a phenomenon peculiar to Poland. In 1928 Poland's internal National Debt amounted to barely 442 million zlotys, but in 1936 it had risen to 1,475 millions, and in 1938 to 2,458 millions. Quite a different picture is presented by the problem of Poland's national indebtedness abroad. In 1932 it amounted to 3,862 million zlotys, but by 1936 it had fallen to 3,282 millions, and in 1938 even to 2,575 millions. These figures constitute perhaps the strongest of all justifications for Poland's claim to a fair

position in Europe generally. During the decade which ended in 1938 both Europe and America not only gave Poland no financial support, such as was given to countries which afterwards brought them a ruinous war, but even withdrew finance from Poland to an extent which rendered it impossible to organize the defence of the State. Thus Poland was condemned to an absolutely overwhelming drain on her internal resources.

In view of this financial policy, which was so incredibly short-sighted and detrimental to Poland, it is not surprising that in the immediate pre-war period Poland had to sell even arms she had herself manufactured in order to obtain currency, and to diminish her own possibilities, whereas foreign capital was largely contributing to build up Germany's monstrous war potential.

The currency of Poland is the zloty, which was first stabilized at parity with the Swiss franc, and was later established in a relation of 5·17 zlotys to one United States dollar. The State currency consisted of notes and small metal coinage, with a total circulation of about 1,600 millions in the years 1928—1930. It had to be reduced to 1,325 millions in 1932, but it rose again in 1937 to 1,497 millions, and in 1938 to 1,866 millions. The backing for the currency was the gold reserve in the Bank of Poland, which in 1929 was valued at 700,500,000 zlotys. By 1936 the gold reserve had fallen to 392,900,000 zlotys, but in 1937 it rose to 435 millions, and in 1938 to 445 millions. In 1939 all this gold reserve was sent abroad to the disposal of the Polish Government. For purposes of comparison it may be mentioned that in 1938 the gold reserve in the United Kingdom amounted to a value of 14,154 million zlotys, in France to 12,792 millions, and in Germany in 1939 to only 152 millions, or one-third of Poland's gold reserve. To close this section on Polish finances it may be mentioned that deposits in banks, which amounted to 2,686 millions in 1928, rose to 3,242 millions in 1936, while savings in the savings banks amounted to 447 millions in 1928, 1,304 millions in 1936, and 1,537 millions in 1938.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION

THE NEWLY RESTORED POLAND concentrated one of its greatest and most effective efforts on raising the standards of education, and achieved such swift and imposing results that it is difficult to find any comparison. The figures are both a confirmation of the incredible state of neglect and the low standards which existed in this field under the partitioning powers, especially Russia, and of the greatness of Poland's achievement. Two groups of figures perfectly summarise the effort that was made. The percentage of illiterates, which in 1921 was 33·1 per cent. of the total population, fell by 1931 to 23·1 per cent., and thereafter steadily decreased still further, as undoubtedly the population census to have been held in 1941 would have shown. The second group of figures is even more drastic in its testimony. It concerns the state of illiteracy in the four eastern provinces formerly under Russian rule. In 1921 the percentage of illiteracy among children of the school-ages ten to fourteen years was the shocking figure of 71 per cent. But in the course of only ten years of Polish rule and effort to raise the standard of culture and education among the Polish and non-Polish peoples of these provinces the percentage of illiteracy among the same age group fell to 17 per cent. These are truly astonishing results.

It is true that 5,543,700 people in Poland in 1931 could neither read nor write, while 1,001,400 could only read. None the less the new Poland, by her own efforts to make up for the neglect of the former Partitioning Powers, was immediately below Latvia (19·6 per cent.) in regard to illiterates, but in the sphere of elementary education surpassed Italy, which had 27 per cent. of illiterates, not to speak of Spain, with her 47·5 per cent. But the best testimony to Poland's work in this field is the fact that the Polish Government improved the state of education in provinces which had been under the German Partition. Thus between 1921 and 1931 the percentage of illiterates in Silesia fell from 2·6 per cent. to 1·5 per cent., in Poznan province from 3·8 per cent. to 2·8 per cent., and in

Pomorze from 5.2 per cent. to 4.3 per cent. Everywhere the Polish Government achieved better results in regard to education than the world-advertised German activities in this sphere.

In the educational year 1938—1939 Poland possessed 28 higher schools, including universities at Cracow, Vilno, Lwów, Warsaw, and Poznan, a Catholic university at Lublin, peoples' universities at Warsaw and Lodz, two Poletchnics, at Lwów and Warsaw, four Schools of Commerce, two Academies of Fine Arts, at Warsaw and Cracow, a mining Academy at Cracow, and a number of other specialised higher schools. In 1939, in these schools 2,460 professors and other teaching staff were employed. The number of professors of all categories was 824. The number of students at such schools showed a rapid increase. In the year 1926—7 there were 40,700 students, in 1936—7 there were 48,262, and in 1938—9 over 50,000 students in higher schools. Secondary schools of a general educational character, both State and private, numbered 760 in 1936—7, with 200,400 students, and the number was growing from year to year. In addition there were trade schools and teachers' training colleges, as well as numerous educational courses, some 1,500 in all, and some 180,000 students and participants in courses. Elementary schools rose from 25,600 in 1920—21 to 28,300 in 1936—7, while the number of pupils during the same period almost doubled. For in 1920—21 the number was 2,971,600, and in 1936—7 it was 4,743,000. In 1938—9 it had risen still further, to 4,953,000 attending 28,881 schools. The development in this sphere occurred more in regard to the number of classes than in the establishment of new schools.

The figures relating to education among the German minority and the problem of the extent to which Jews studied in Polish educational establishments are particularly interesting. The small German minority in Poland had 203 elementary schools in which Polish and German were taught, with a total number of 36,500 pupils. It had, further, 394 schools in which only German was used, with 36,300 pupils. Even very small German groups, such as those around Lwów, had their German high schools and their own evangelical pastorates.

The figures showing the participation of students of various nationalities and religions in the higher schools are also very interesting. Frequently quite incorrect information on this point was published in the world press. To begin with it has to be stated that Poland had no anti-semitic laws of any kind affecting any sphere, and both the 1921 and the 1935 Constitutions guaranteed full rights and liberties to all nationalities and religions. The heads of a few schools are known to have made certain discriminatory regulations, but this was by virtue of their autonomous powers to make administrative arrangements. But these had no legal or legislative basis. Now for the figures. In the years 1921—1922 young people of Jewish faith and nationality constituted 24.6 per cent. of the total number of young people studying in Polish higher educational establishments, and in 1930—1931 the percentage was still as high as 18.5 per cent. The fall in the percentage was due to the increase of Roman Catholic students, as the absolute figure for this category rose from 22,946 to 34,303. Although the figure for the percentage of Jewish students continued to fall, owing to the increase of other students, more from the villages than the towns, none the less it greatly exceeded the percentage of young Jews to the total population. This state of affairs was exaggerated out of all proportion by anti-Semitic agitation, and led to culpable excesses against Jewish student colleagues, but on the other hand general, including British public opinion, was often falsely informed on the facts of the percentage of Jewish students in Poland and their opportunities for study.

Poland's cultural and educational heritage was further increased by the public museums, numbering 175, and numerous scientific and educational libraries, numbering 9,342 permanent libraries. These included the very valuable libraries of the Jagiellon University at Cracow, of the University at Warsaw, and of the University of Lwów, as well as the very rich National Library at Warsaw, which was a creation of the new Poland. In addition there were 26,000 school libraries and 4,197 mobile libraries. In 1936, 7,971 books were published, and 103 theatres existed in Poland.

We have had to present all this picture of Polish educational

and cultural life as a matter of past history, for to-day it all lies in ruins. Polish universities have been completely closed throughout the war, and the matter of the German authorities' arrest of the professors of the famous Cracow University has echoed all over the world. The Lwów University functioned for a short time under Soviet occupation as an Ukrainian University.

After the initial persecutions of 1940 still worse things occurred, such as the Germans' systematic destruction not only of university but secondary education, the pillaging of libraries and the destruction of all Poland's cultural heritage. Dozens of professors, often rectors and prominent scientists and men of learning, who had never had anything to do with politics, were shot without trial, for the Germans deliberately suppressed and destroyed all manifestations of Polish intellectual and cultural life. The more important branches of education had to go underground, and only technical and elementary schools functioned to a small extent.

Never even in the days of the Vandals has any nation destroyed the educational and cultural life of another nation so barbarously as the German occupying authorities have done in Poland. Here and there, in place of important educational institutions and schools they set up propaganda institutes with ostensibly scientific aims which were in fact solely for the purpose of Germanization.

In this field the future, restored Poland will have simply enormous tasks.

THE ARMY

FROM THE MOMENT OF EMERGENCE OF THE new-born Poland the nation threw much of its effort into organising as fine and strong an army as possible.

Unfortunately the state of the budget did not allow of the development of these forces on a basis commensurate with the needs of a State so open on all sides. One may only point out that the army expenditure in the normal budget of

1928-29 was 851 million zlotys, but in 1932-33 it was only 761 million zlotys, and in 1936 only 760 million zlotys. Then, owing to the efforts of the entire nation, it rose in 1937-38 to 965 million zlotys. But a better measure of the Polish effort is the proportion of army expenditure to the other State expenditures. In 1927-28 army expenditure was 39.5 per cent. of the total State outgoings, and in 1931-32 it was as much as 44.6 per cent. of the State expenditure, while in 1937-38 it fell to 41.9 per cent. (In Sweden in the same year it was only 15 per cent. !). Obviously, in addition to expenditure provided for by the normal budget there was also an enormous effort represented by the internal loans for this purpose, as well as gifts made by the public.

Organisationally, Poland was divided into ten army corps regions, and in 1931 she had 29 infantry divisions, 2 cavalry divisions, 49 artillery regiments, 6 anti-aircraft divisions, 4 armoured battalions, and 4 pioneer brigades. In addition there was a separate corps of frontier defence numbering some 1,078 officers and 27,000 non-commissioned officers and men. The military frontier guard numbered some 6,000 men. Of course during the last eight years the Polish army was greatly developed, both in regard to infantry divisions, and also cavalry brigades and armoured units. But the details were never published. In 1935-36 the permanent Polish army consisted of 18,000 professional officers, 37,000 professional non-commissioned officers, and 211,100 soldiers called up on eighteen months' service. These figures all exclude the corps for frontier defence and the frontier guards, as well as the police (some 40,000 men). But the number of the permanent army was altered from time to time and was not always published. On 1st April, 1938, for instance, troops in barracks numbered 318,000.

Within the army framework the position of the Polish air force, divided into six air regiments and a fleet air arm detachment, was not very satisfactory. In 1931 Poland had 39 squadrons and 436 aeroplanes. This figure steadily rose, but none the less, in face of the German surprise attack and the destruction caused before—or, to be more exact, without—the

declaration of war, the air force, as we have already said, numerically was too weak in the present war, despite the excellent war material.

The navy in 1935-36 consisted of 945 officers, 1,910 non-commissioned officers, and 1,960 other ratings. At that time there were four destroyers, but later there were six, as well as five torpedo boats, five submarines, and a number of small units, not including training vessels and the armed river fleet. This young navy passed its tests with flying colours.

During the war, with British aid the navy has been greatly enlarged, even to include a cruiser. It has operated in the Mediterranean, during the landings on the North African coast, in the fight with the "Bismarck," in convoying transports to Russia, the invasion of the continent, and in many other ways. Beyond referring to the numerous commendatory communiqués of the British command, we need only say that this young Polish fleet has won the highest percentage of distinctions for valour and fulfilment of tasks of all the allied fleets.

We have already spoken in the historical section of this work about the development of the Polish air force and the part it has played in the war, and also of the operations of Polish land forces in all the fields of war. It is not yet time to tell all the details of the organization and numbers of the Polish forces in Italy and Great Britain. But we can say that apart from and exclusive of the forces of the underground army which is in continual action in Poland, and the Polish divisions formed in the Soviet Union and fighting as part of the Soviet armies, the Polish troops forming part of the British armies and built up with British and American equipment were, until the liberation of France, the largest military contingent in the Allied army after the U.S.S.R., the United States and Great Britain. Even to-day the aggregate forces of the Polish armies occupy one of the leading positions among the allied armies.

POLAND ABROAD

SO FAR WE HAVE GIVEN INFORMATION ONLY concerning the State of Poland and the territory lying within the frontiers of that State. But there is a second Poland closely bound by many ties with the Polish nation, yet not to be included in statistics of the Polish State. We refer to the Poles abroad, which in 1938 numbered 8,190,000 persons. After Poland itself, the United States contain the largest number of Poles concentrated in any one country—altogether some 4,000,000. It is difficult to be precise in our figures, for, in view of the tremendous sentiment and attachment of the Poles in the United States to their new motherland, they vary in the degree to which they retain the Polish language as their native tongue. In any case, though they all exemplarily fulfil their obligations as American citizens and are idealistically attached to the United States, as they have shown in this war, even the later generations feel an ardent sentiment for their original motherland and her fate.

In Chicago alone there are over 300,000 Poles, and in respect of the number of Polish inhabitants this city can be regarded as the third in the world, after Łódź and Warsaw. New York has 160,000 Poles. Canada has 145,000 Poles, but in the southern half of the American continent the largest number of Poles is in Brazil, where there are 265,000, chiefly concentrated in the State of Parana. There are a further 60,000 in the Argentine. In other non-European countries there was only a comparatively small percentage of Poles. Here of course we are referring to pre-war times, for strong contingents of Poles are now to be found in West Africa, Rhodesia, Palestine, temporarily in Persia, and at a certain stage even in Mexico. But these groups, like those of workers sent on forced labour to Germany or deported to Soviet Russia, are only temporary residents, and cannot be counted among the Poles permanently abroad, for they all look forward to the possibility of returning to Poland.

In Germany, despite recent repressive measures and the falsification of statistics, there are 1,300,000 Poles, 600,000 of whom are in Silesia, the rest being on the Western borders, in

Eastern Prussia, and Westphalia. Before the outbreak of war the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics had about 900,000 Poles in its European and Asiatic possessions, while in France there are some 600,000. During the years 1922 to 1927 there was an annual influx into France of some 50,000 Polish workers, who settled chiefly in the Pas de Calais Department, where they formed 12 per cent. of the population. In addition Lithuania had some 200,000, and Rumania 100,000. The figures for other countries are much smaller. Of course all these figures vacillate, owing to emigration and remigration. For instance, during the years 1919 to 1935, 398,000 Poles emigrated to Germany to work, and 370,000 remigrated to Poland. But Polish emigrants to France during the years 1926 to 1938 numbered 404,000, while remigrants from France to Poland numbered only 198,000.

To sum up all our figures on Poles in Poland and abroad, we can fairly estimate that in 1939 there were in round figures 32,000,000 Poles throughout the world, 24,000,000 living on the territory of the Polish Republic, and 8,000,000 abroad.

CONCLUSION

WE HAVE ATTEMPTED, BY MEANS OF A NARRATIVE presentation of events, dates and statistics, to give a picture of Poland in the past and of her present situation. For world public opinion has been and still is continually bemused by quantities of quite unceremonially false information about Poland, supplied by her opponents. Frequently this information consists of completely invented "facts." We have attempted to give facts and figures from authentic and scientifically accepted sources, so that they may speak quite objectively for themselves.

For the sake of objectivity we have, for instance, in the economic section given comparative data concerning Poland and the Western States, in the full realization that such comparisons are if anything unfavourable to Poland, whereas if we had given comparisons with the Balkan States or those of East Central Europe we could have presented a very favourable picture. But it would not have been an objective one. We have not ignored the negative factors, the defeats and failures ; none the less the history of Poland, taken as a whole, and seen against the background of the tragic events and the first phase of the present

war, from 1939 to 1941, best reveals the historical truth as to Poland's position in Europe, and especially in Eastern and Central Europe.

In the course of her thousand years of existence, by force of her geographical situation and political necessities Poland has been a fundamental pillar of political freedom in Eastern Europe, a pillar on which number of weaker States, or semi-State organisms and nations, depended. After the partitions Poles took the words, "For our freedom and yours," as their device, and they proclaim and maintain the same principle to-day, realizing that in fighting for their own liberty and independence they are also fighting for the liberty of other smaller nations of Europe.

In the European system organized after the Versailles Treaty, Poland, which had established herself in the years 1918—1920, by her victorious resistance of 1920 became automatically the basis of State and independent existence for a number of smaller nations in Eastern Europe. Still more interesting is the fact that this truth applies not only to the Baltic States or Rumania, but even to such States as Lithuania, which considered it its political duty to combat Poland in every sphere.

And finally, even mighty Russia found her liberty and territory menaced as soon as the Polish barrier which had protected her against Germany disappeared. For the attack of June 22nd, 1941, has shown that the temporary disappearance of the Polish State from the map brought Russia as its final result one of the most bitter wars in her history. After a terrible devastation of the western lands and peoples of Soviet Russia the unbreakable resistance of the Red Army put a halt to the threat of German invasion, but only at the gates of Moscow, Stalingrad and the mountains of the Caucasus. But before the outbreak of war in 1939 all that area had been protected by virtue of Poland's continual refusal to take part in an invasion of Russia. And so the tragic and terrifying course of events in the present war has already shown that the existence of the Polish State was not only a basis of the liberties of the small nations of East and Central Europe, but also a screen enabling the gigantic State of Soviet Russia to carry through her internal reconstruction in peace and tranquility.

To-day we are in the midst of a flux of events and changes in European relations. The Polish people generally have realized to the highest degree the everlasting danger of the barbarous threat of German might, and desires to reach understanding and co-operation with their Russian neighbour, even at the price of far-reaching concessions. None the less, the soul of the Polish nation cannot be changed, nor the very basis of existence of the country undermined. And so the Polish nation cannot aim at such co-operation at any price, and in particular at the price of surrendering its independence.

For since the catastrophe of 1939 the Polish nation, which has been led as well as governed continually by its legal government, has

demonstrated an absolutely unbreakable will to struggle at the price of every possible sacrifice for its independence and the might of its State. Neither under the most terrible of repressive measures, nor by succumbing to the manifold German temptations and baits, has the nation thrown up a single Quisling, and there is not, and has not been, one Pole who would set his hand to the cancellation of Polish State independence.

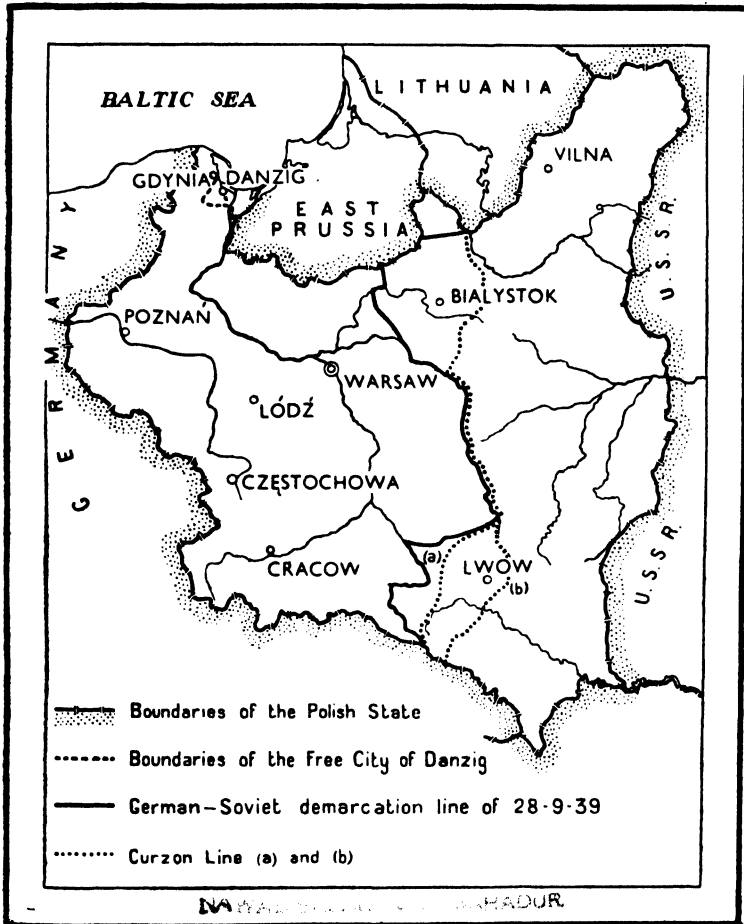
Poland has endured inflexibly in the struggle at the side of Great Britain, which in the tragic days of the crucial Battle of Britain, fought alone, with the aid of the weak but at that time invaluable Polish contribution, in the fight for the ideals of human freedom against the tyranny of Nazi Germany. The entire Polish nation is proud of its uninterrupted part in the struggle for the liberty of all in Europe, and is proud that it seconded Great Britain in the most difficult moment of her history. For it must not be forgotten that when almost the entire continent of Europe was conquered by the Germans, and they were beginning their air raids on Great Britain fighting single-handed, prayers were offered publicly in the churches of Britain for the country's one ally in that moment of terrible struggle. That ally was Poland.

The Polish State and nation fought during that time of greatest danger ; they are fighting to-day in all fields, now that the scales of victory have fallen so irrevocably on the side of the allies of Poland. But that inflexible will to struggle at all costs for its independence, for its due and proper place among the States of Europe reciprocally safeguarded by the principle of collective security, is the factor of moral strength which largely compensates for the difficult geographical situation of the Polish State and nation. The Poles know that for the sake of their independence they must bear much greater burdens and make much greater sacrifices than others, but they know, too, that in fighting for their own freedom, they are fighting for the right to life of all others in Europe, in accordance with their ancient device :
" For our freedom and yours."

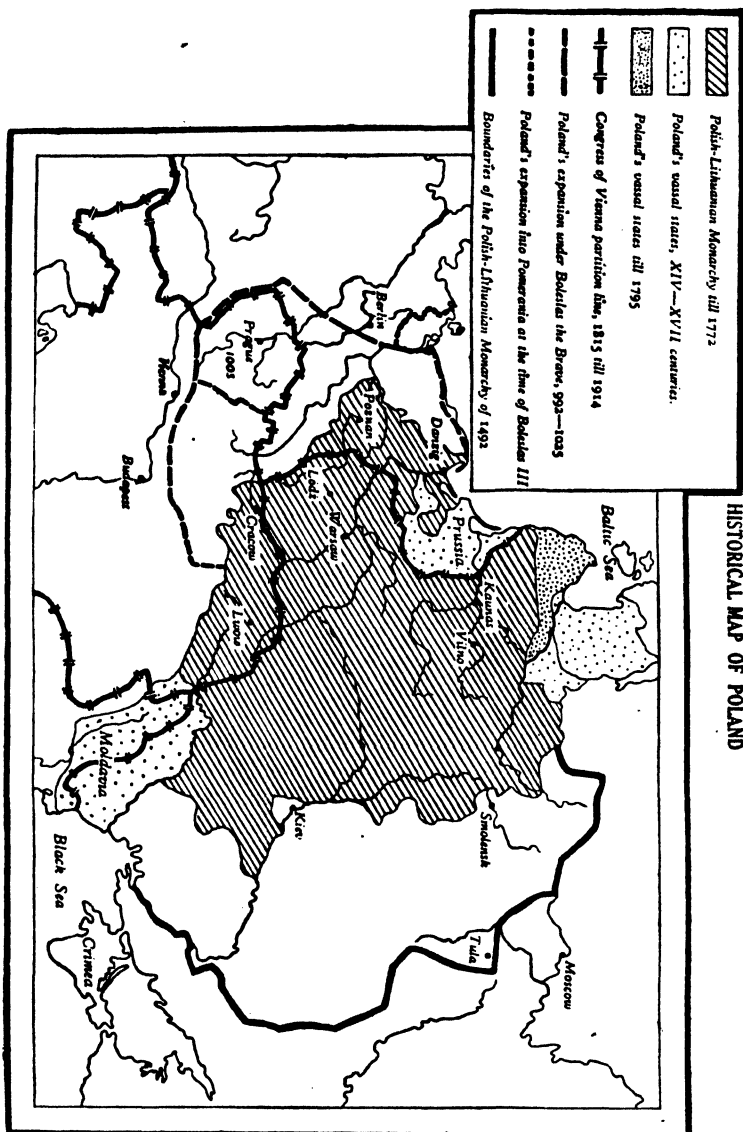


NAWAB SALAH UDDIN KHAN

POLAND IN 1939



HISTORICAL MAP OF POLAND



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